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Rebirth of Prehistoric American Art

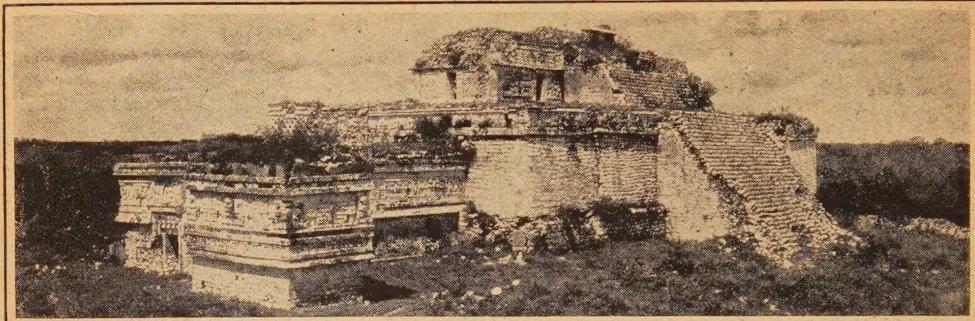
By EDGAR LLOYD HAMPTON

MOST of us believe it was Columbus who discovered America. Available facts, however, now prove that our Western Hemisphere was discovered and peopled by human beings who thousands of years ago had attained a degree of civilization and culture equal to that of any race on earth before the Christian era. Although these facts have long been vaguely known to the world, our archaeologists now know them specifically, and each day are adding to their detailed knowledge.

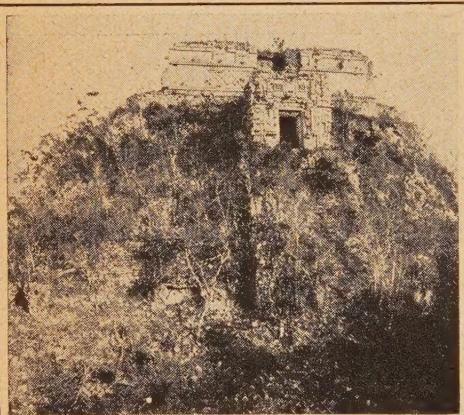
The remains of these ancient races are strewn to some extent over all of North and South America, but the highest degree of their culture was attained in Honduras, Guatemala, Yucatan and Southern Mexico, where three distinct races—the Toltecs, the Mayans and the Aztecs—rose in succeeding periods to a very high state of civilization. Of these the Mayans left in their wake the most remarkable evidence of culture, wonderfully carved in imperishable stone, for they all were the “stone age” people, part of the Neolithic race, who did their great work—and passed before the introduction of iron and steel. A few years ago the United States built a canal across the

Isthmus of Panama, thus connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific and cutting the Southern border of the land of these ancient races. It is toward this area that scientists are now directing their attention.

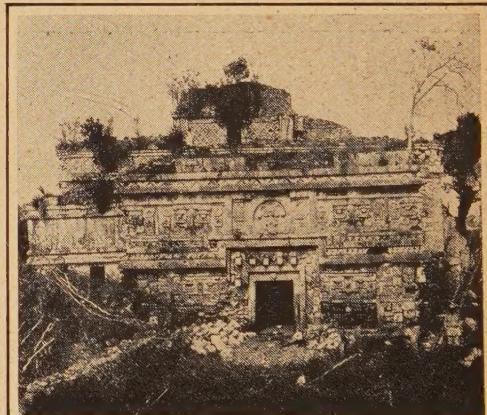
All questions regarding the origin of these strange “first inhabitants” lie within the realm of the problematical. The theories point all the way from Egypt to China and Polynesia, and include the “Lost Continent of Atlantis,” which is said to have sunk beneath the sea long before the beginning of written history. The date when this people arrived on North American soil is a question equally shrouded in mystery. Dr. D. B. Rogers, archaeologist for the Smithsonian Institution, who for many years has carried on research work in Southern California, finds, at Santa Barbara, the remains of a race which, he states, is 12,000 years old. Professor Ramon Mena, curator of the Department of Archaeology for the Mexican Government, announces that every article found in the ruins of Palenque, which are very extensive, is more than 10,000 years old, that the inhabitants were using stucco 10,000 years ago, and that “therefore we can state



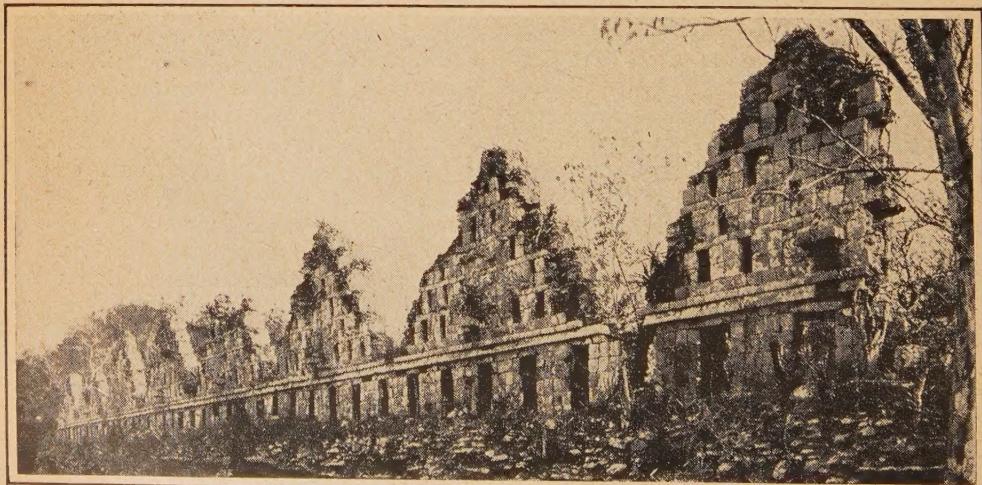
The Monjas (nunnery) at Chichen Itza. This edifice is 300 feet long, 150 feet wide, and was probably 70 feet high. (Photograph from Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.)



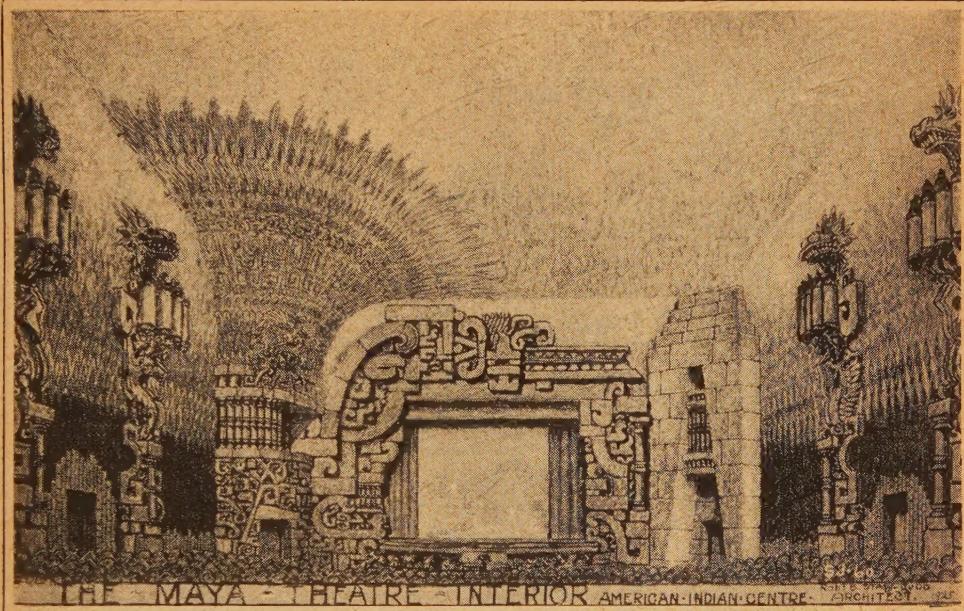
The House of the Magicians at Uxmal. From the elaborate carvings on these ruins artists are adapting designs for present-day use. (Photograph from Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



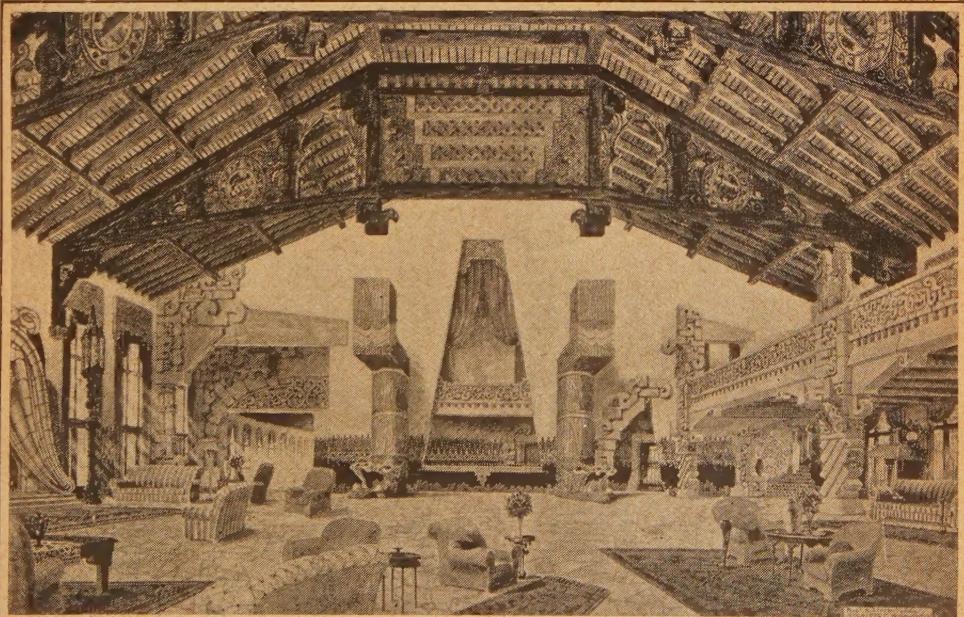
East facade of the Nunnery, Chichen Itza, showing elaborate designs. (Photograph from Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



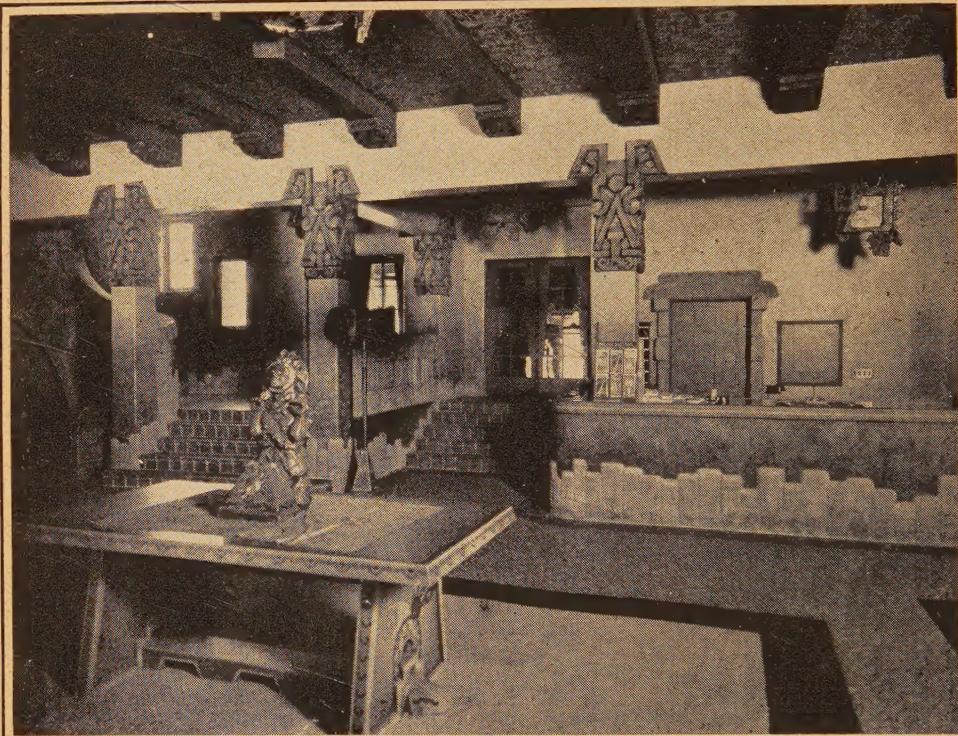
The massive character of Mayan architecture as seen in the House of the Doves at Uxmal. (Photograph from Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



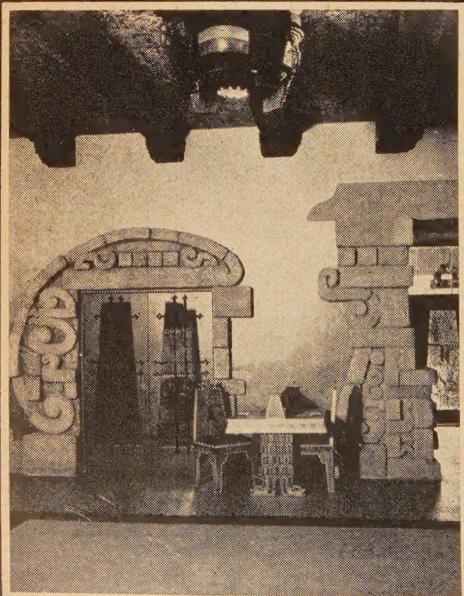
Design for the interior of the Maya Theatre, Los Angeles, one of the increasing number of experiments in adapting the motifs of America's prehistoric art to modern building, in the effort to develop a new national style



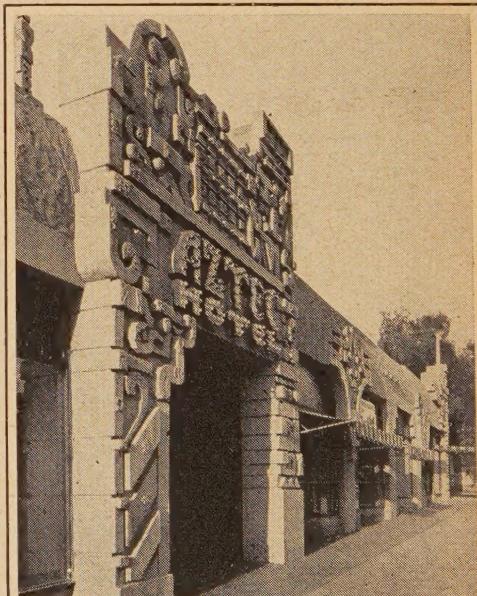
Lobby of the Beach and Yacht Club, now in course of construction at San Diego, Cal., another example of modernizing Mayan architectural style for everyday purposes. So far, it will be noted, these designs are coming into vogue chiefly in California, where another architectural style, that of the old Spanish missions, has been revived in the desire to develop an art distinctive from that of the Old World



Lounge in the Aztec Hotel. Each detail of the structure, statuary and furniture is Mayan in style



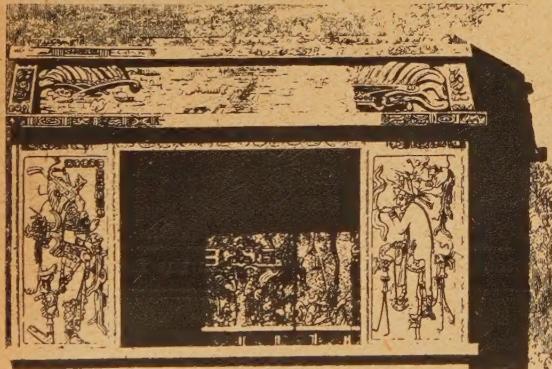
Writing desk and entrance to the dining room of the Aztec Hotel



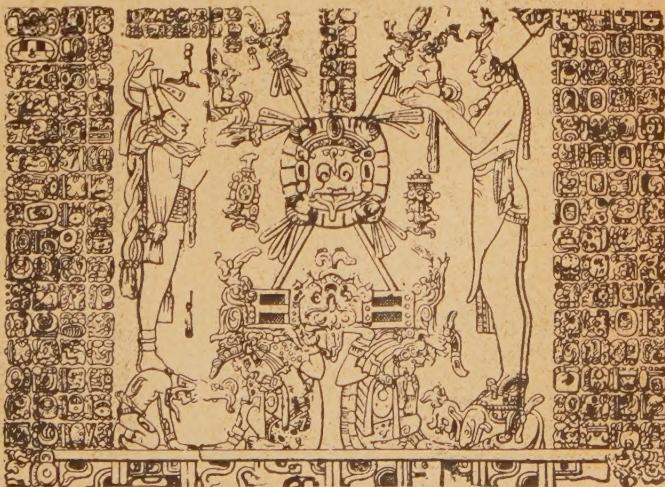
The main entrance of the Aztec Hotel, at Monrovia, Los Angeles



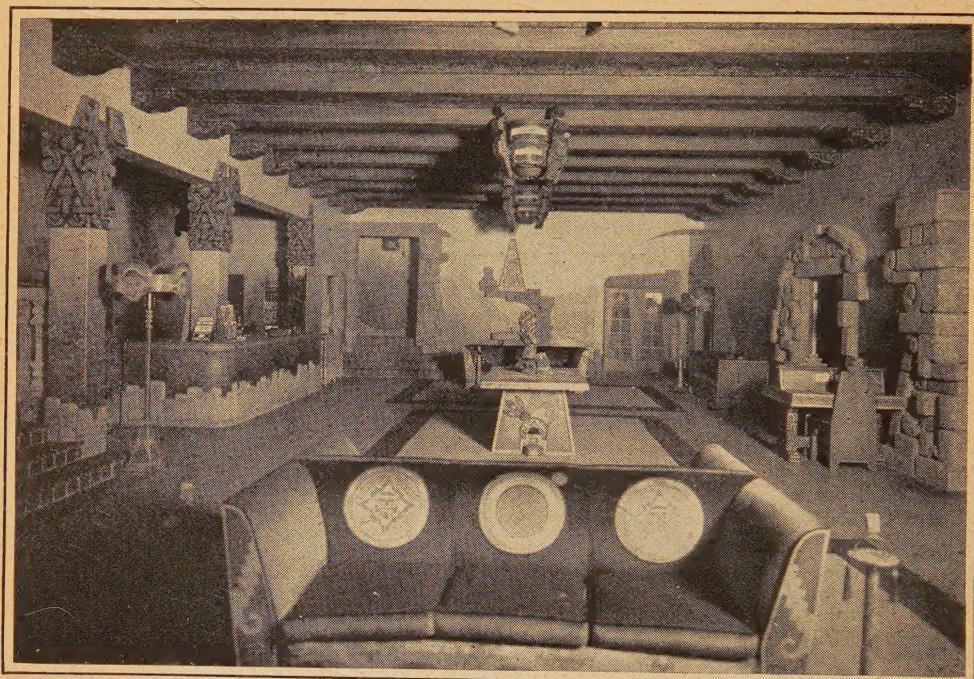
Above—Portion of a Mayan temple. Below—An altar notable for its carvings



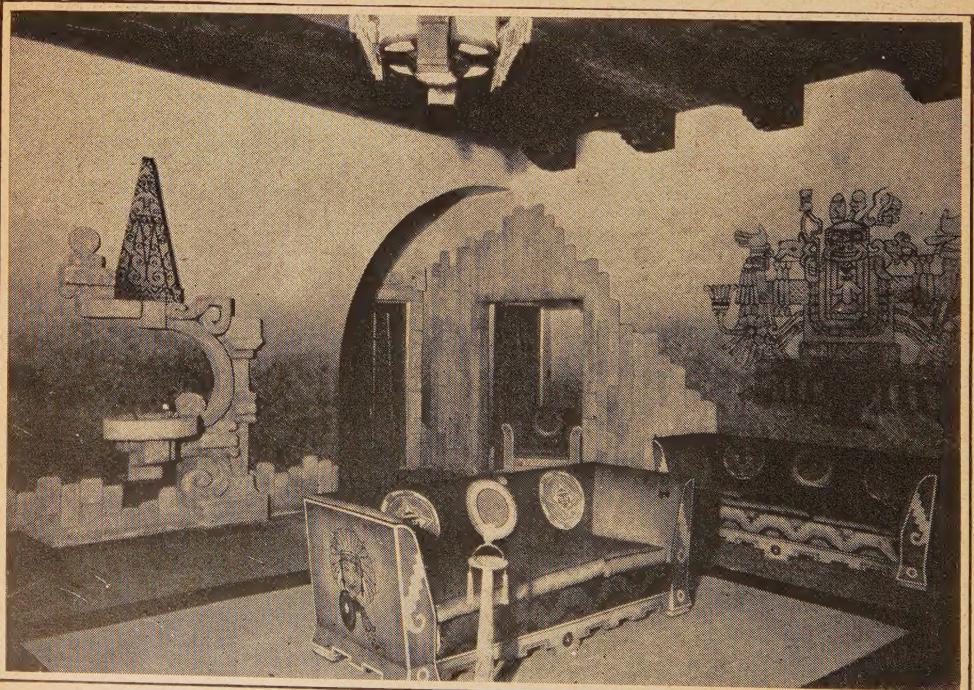
Enlarged reproductions of the bas-reliefs on the sides of this structure are shown on the left hand side of the bottom and on the right hand side of the top of this page respectively. The tablet on the back wall is shown on the right of the bottom of the page



Various examples of design found among the remains of Mayan architecture



Another view of the lobby of the Aztec Hotel, showing Mayan designs on the furniture



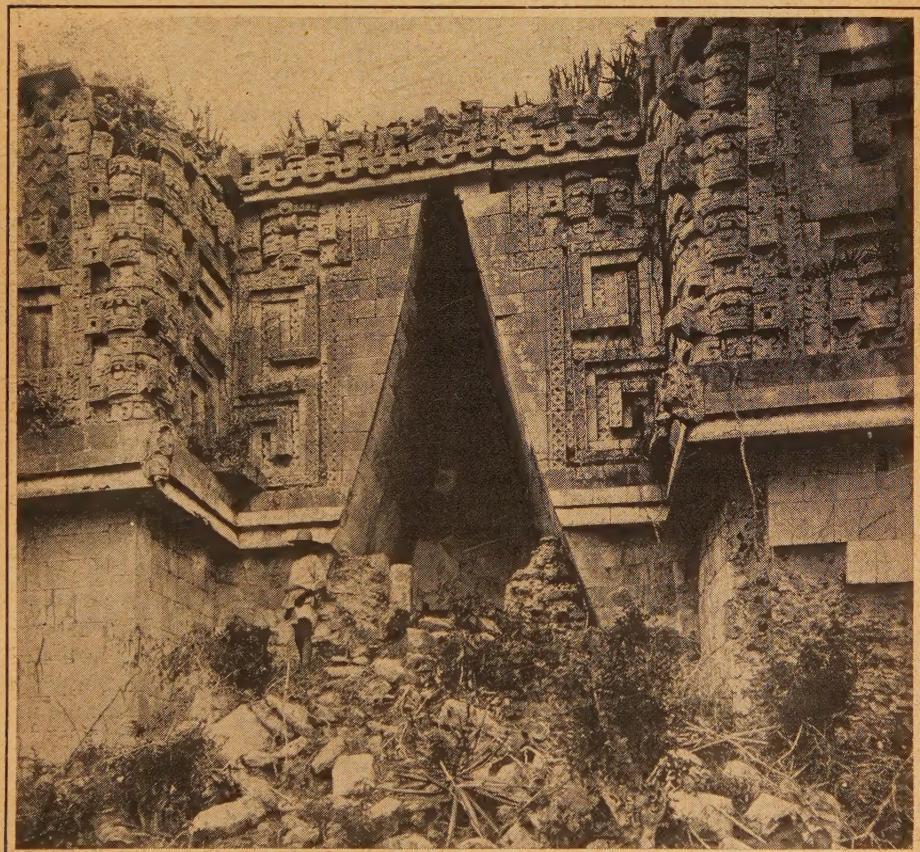
A corner in the lobby of the Aztec Hotel, showing the prehistoric Mayan arch and mural decorations and furniture, also in Mayan style

that there were people inhabiting the Valley of Mexico 8,000 years B. C." And we have the additional authoritative writings in "The Ancient Book of China" (held in the National Archives, though never printed), which specifically state that the Chinese landed on what is now the coast of California more than 3,000 years ago.

The fact of this extreme antiquity does

not determine the climax of the resulting culture. Thousands of years must have been required to evolve from a state of savagery so high a degree of civilization, while the evidence of its slow development would have filled all the intervening centuries. Thus it is possible that some of the structures in the more ancient ruins on this continent were reared to the sky before the days of Babylon, before Ulysses

was born, or Moses led the children of Israel out of Egyptian captivity. Yet these events only mark the steps in their evolution. The climax of this culture, according to our scientists, attained its highest point some time near the beginning of the Christian era. Then these people mysteriously and permanently disappeared. Where they went, and why, are questions which

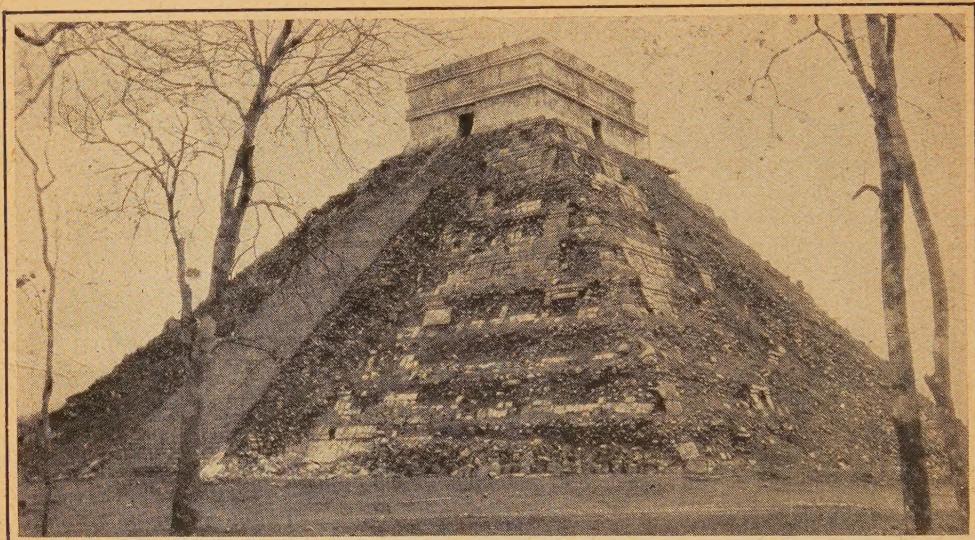


Example of ancient Mayan architecture and masonry at Uxmal, Yucatan, Mexico.
(Photograph from Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

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run parallel with the many other mysteries surrounding them.

The degree of their culture, beautifully chiseled and carved into imperishable designs, has furnished cause for continuous amazement. The region under investigation contains evidence of very extensive cities. The ruins of Quirigua in Honduras, for example, disclose a single "sacred" area many square miles in extent, filled



The Castillo, an ancient Mayan pyramid, among the ruins at Chichen Itza, Yucatan. (Photograph from Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.)

with the remains of great stone temples, beautifully conceived and executed, while the borders of the extinct city extend for several miles along the Tableland. Quirigua is but one of the many great cities now being revealed to human view. "This region, now overgrown with a dense tropical forest," says Dr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley, in charge for the Carnegie Institution of excavations at Chichen Itza, "is the scene of a former magnificent civilization. Here great cities have flourished on every side. Lofty pyramids, temples and splendid palaces of cut stone, spacious plazas and courts filled with elaborately carved monuments; market places, terraces, causeways, are here to be counted not by tens and scores but by hundreds and thousands. Indeed, it is not improbable that this was one of the most densely populated areas of its size in the world during the first five centuries of the Christian Era—the seat of a mighty American empire."

ANCIENT AMERICAN CULTURE

These people had priests and astronomers who had gathered from the stars the secrets of time, and its accurate measurements; mathematicians and chronologists who had devised a calendar and chronology which was without peer on this con-

tinent, and excelled by none in the Old World at that time; builders who had developed an architecture at once unique, dignified and beautiful; sculptors who had carved the most elaborate compositions in stone. The temples and palaces were as massive and as perfect as those created by the early Greeks; the sculpture might have been from the chisel of a Phidias; the architecture rivaled that of Michelangelo, while the degree of perfection in the plastic arts has been a cause of wonder and admiration to all who have taken the pains to investigate.

How a modern world may learn from and utilize these products of a prehistoric past is a question that has already been considered, and there is already in evidence a tendency toward adapting them to present day purposes, with its several specific results. For example, there stands today, in the town of Monrovia, a suburb of Los Angeles, Cal., a middle-sized structure, two stories in height, which clearly is incommensurate with the thing it represents. It was conceived, designed, built, decorated and finally turned over to its owners in 1924 by Robert B. Stacy-Judd, a Los Angeles architect. This is the Aztec Hotel, which has been in operation two years. It is the only existing structure that

embodies exclusively the art, architecture and decorative designs of our prehistoric past; in other words, the only building in the United States that is 100 per cent. American. Its execution came about after years of experiments with the different Mayan designs. The architect had to overcome those all but insurmountable obstacles which invariably confront the creator of anything new and unconventional.

The Aztec Hotel is, however, not of Aztec but of Mayan origin, a very much earlier period, the former name being used by the owners because it is better known. The architect used only the Mayan motif, embodying in his structure exclusively the principles evolved by the builders of thousands of years ago. The interior decorations likewise set forth Mayañ esthetic ideas—its Kingdom of Darkness, its Goddess of Death, its Sun God Blessing the Crops, its Goddess of Plenty, typifying Mayan progress. As a final and highly poetic touch, the architect constructed a flight of steps on top of the hotel—a flight of steps which ascends and terminates abruptly, thus symbolizing the lost purpose of a great and now extinct race and the fact that life inevitably ends with the task unfinished. One must see to appreciate the modernized prehistoric decorations and the restful harmony of its colors. Our archaeologists have discovered many of the color schemes used by the ancient Maya, and these have been faithfully employed. Thus it is seen that America has begun to adapt for modern use the architecture and decorative designs of our prehistoric races, and that these adaptations are proving entirely practical.

Although the Aztec Hotel is the pioneer structure in this movement, it does not represent the sum-total of effort along this line. In New York City, Alfred C. Bossom, an architect, has begun to lay plans for the construction of metropolitan skyscrapers built along the massive lines of the Maya. George Okley Totten of Washington, D. C., another architect, having spent some months among the ruins of Yucatan, has published an extremely beautiful and instructive book, setting forth the possibilities of Mayan architecture and decorative principles, and he too plans to embody his ideas in commercial structures.

Not least among those who have found new inspiration in this prehistoric culture are the native artists of Mexico, in whose veins flows the blood of ancient Toltecs, Mayans and Aztecs. Francisco Mujica, a graduate of the University of Chile, who has spent three years among the ruins of Mexico and Yucatan, received the grand prize at the Pan-American Congress of Architects at Montevideo in 1920 for his studies in Mayan art, while his crayon reproductions of the Chichen Itza ruins won the gold medal at the second Congress in 1922. This exponent of American prehistoric culture, whose work was on display in Los Angeles during 1926, is now in Washington, D. C., where, as a representative of the Mexican Government, he hopes to rouse an interest in this art and its possibilities among our public officials.

MAYAN MOTIF USED TODAY

Francisco Cornejo is another Mexican artist who has devoted much time to the same studies. The work on display in his Los Angeles studio unmistakably proves the beauty, symmetry and modern adaptability of the ancient decorative designs. Already his panels and mural decorations make colorful many homes in Southern California, while his stage setting and costumes, executed in Mayan design for the Dennishawn dancers in the "Toltec Ballet, Xochitl," have been used by that group during the past year in the capitals of the entire world.

In addition to the Aztec Hotel at Monrovia, America has two other buildings reflecting the Mayan motif. One is the Pan-American Union Building in Washington, D. C., home of all the American Republics; the other is the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. Both these structures, in keeping with our other public buildings, following the classical renaissance, contain motives drawn from prehistoric sources.

Of the further efforts of Mr. Stacy Judd we have a second example yet more ambitious than the original Aztec Hotel. It is embodied in a social club, a million-dollar structure now in process of completion at La Jolla, a suburb of San Diego. In its main features a compromise with established types of architecture, this

building finally surrenders to the ancient culture in its large and elaborate lobby, which is entirely Mayan in architectural style and decoration, down to the electrical fixtures and the figures on the furnishings. With the exception of a Mayan motion picture theatre now being planned for Los Angeles, a structure of large proportions under consideration by a group of investors in Vancouver, B. C., and a few contemplated buildings in other parts of the United States, the buildings mentioned, so far as I know, represent the sum-total of all the attempts made to the present time to modernize the prehistoric culture of America.

The buildings of prehistoric America were massive beyond anything in modern Europe today, and were conceived along vertical lines, since they were planned for height. The modern European architects spread their structures over extended areas, using as an apex the horizontal. In America our supreme achievement—the skyscraper—is built along vertical lines, thus oddly embodying Mayan principles of construction. The Mayan pyramids invariably rose to great elevations, while the temples and palaces were of the height and general character of our modern skyscrapers. It is agreed that this architecture may be used not only in office structures, but with striking effect in various other public buildings, churches, theatres, clubs, auditoriums, schools and later in private habitations. The decorative possibilities even exceed those of an architectural character. Those ancient Americans were artists of unsurpassed ability. Being intensely religious, the chief impulse of their lives was to create beautifully decorated palaces and temples in memory of their gods. The result is available not only in huge structures, but also in pottery, painting, weaving, mosaic work, wonderfully chiseled statuary, elaborately sculptured monuments, richly carved panels and ornamented walls. These creations, as perfect in execution and as lavishly decorative as the Moorish, supply a treasure-house of

varied designs from which artists may draw to their hearts' desire.

Following the development in public buildings comes the home: panels, friezes, mantels and mural pieces for the private dwellings; modern statuary for the living room. Each home might have at least one room—a library, music room, or study—in the Mayan style. There are also possibilities in regard to tapestries, draperies, screens and mantelpieces, in the development of which today the Chinese and Japanese excel. Our fashions in dress likewise seem susceptible to prehistoric influences. The gown fabrics for the Summer of 1926, with their huge decorative figures, were already unconsciously half Mayan. The work of the excavators recently has brought forth remarkable textiles, found in age-old tombs, which give our manufacturers entirely new ideas. Since each piece of aboriginal art tells a story of the life, customs and traditions of ancient America, and since our archaeologists are now interpreting this history, a knowledge of the results acquired and set forth in a frieze, a panel or a mural decoration would be eminently practical as an expression of ancient American culture in a modern American home.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH

We have today the accumulated results of many years of scientific research. Chief among those engaged in this work are the Carnegie and Smithsonian Institutions, the Peabody Museum of Harvard and the Archaeological Institute of America. All of them, and in addition the Mexican Government, are busily employed among the prehistoric ruins of this continent. Their discoveries within the past few years have been many and in the large volumes that have been compiled thousands of significant designs are reproduced and interpreted. The first modern adaptations—the Aztec Hotel and the decorative conceptions of such artists as Mujica and Cornejo—are the work of courageous pioneers, who have opened what may become a new era in American art.

Is America an Idealistic Nation?

Two Opposing Viewpoints

I. America's Idealism

By GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of *The History of American Idealism* and other works

THE long-prevailing method of viewing American life has been archaic, patterned after standards which long ago should have become obsolete. In the case of other peoples the principle has become established that the large accomplishments are to be accepted as embodying the significant essentials. But in dealing with America the habitual process has been the reverse. Of the scores upon scores of foreign critics visiting America and writing about it, there have been a few distinguished exceptions, such as Tocqueville, Harriet Martineau and James Bryce, who did sincerely seek to study the deep currents of American life, understand its problems and interpret its spirit. But their findings have been overwhelmed by the multitude of shallow, adverse and generally abusive comments. Many of our native writers have long been infected with this hypercritical, condemnatory attitude. It became customary to rail at our supposed traits and transgressions, and in genuine hack form one assailant slavishly followed another.

The great achievements of the American people as a nation have been ignored or, when they are proved, disputed or denied. No attempt is made to learn America's history, past and present, as represented by its notable accomplishments. Attention is concentrated upon minor affairs, ephemeralities and abuses that are now in course of solution. There is no effort to give each factor its due proportion to the whole. A legend is tiresomely iterated that America has been and is a sordid nation. Individual striving for gain is arbitrarily converted into a national characteristic. Venality, a most ancient thing in the world's history—the annals of other na-

tions are full of evidences—is made peculiar to democracy, with emphasis usually upon America.

Do assailants know when, where and under what circumstances the custom of attacking America originated? Are they aware that the identical evils imputed as of American creation were all parts of so-called European culture, came here from Europe, and have been combated, one after another, by the American people at large?

Present-day antagonistic critics of America, both foreign and native, profess to see in our colossal industrial development the convincing proof that America is overridden by materialism, money-mad, inartistic, crude and vulgar. Chesterton, with his eye upon us, questions whether democracy is a success; Maeterlinck says that we have "the most pitiless commercialism in the world"; Zangwill derided us as "a half-educated nation"; Dean Inge fumes at our democracy's "incompetence"; Drinkwater finds us standardized and monotonous in thought. So naïve are these and other apparently sophisticated writers that not one has the least realization of his substantially parrot-like assertions, which for centuries have been the stock-in-trade of critics of America. These writers believe that they are saying something original, striking and of undoubted modern application. But much the same species of reprobation was in vogue in settlement times, when America was largely a wilderness, and in Colonial days, decades before industrialism arose. In the minds of Americans in general the belief has been long inculcated from the disjointed histories they read that witchcraft was exclusively a Puritan superstition. Foreign critics assailing America still delight in linking Puritanism

with witchcraft. But long before Puritans came into existence the witchcraft mania was prevalent in Europe. British parliamentary records show that in 1541, during the reign of Henry VIII (Cap. 8), a statute was enacted making it a felony to practice conjuration, invocation of wicked spirits, witchcraft, charm or sorcery. Similar laws were passed in England during the reign of Edward VI, Elizabeth and James I. Puritans merely brought over the accepted European idea, and the witchcraft obsession lasted among them only a short time.

HOSTILE PROPAGANDA FROM 1623

Propaganda against America began in the year 1623, when Virginia settlers were trying to establish some degree of self-government. The system adopted was not in any way democratic in the modern sense; transplanted class views and distinctions were retained; but the movement did contain the germ of independent initiative in law making. Kings and governing classes in Europe regarded the mention of the word democracy almost as treason. In every way they encouraged the eulogy of monarchy as orderly, capable and benevolent, and the stigmatizing of democracy as turbulent and incompetent. Consequently the most effective means of prejudicing royalty against anybody or any set of persons was to make an accusation of their having democratic tendencies.

But this accusation was mild compared to the vituperation heaped upon Puritans in Massachusetts. Formal declarations of the Plymouth Colony settlers that they were freeborn men and that their own Legislature would make all laws aroused the keenest resentment in England. What more efficacious way of stopping the spread of these democratic ideas than by ridiculing the people asserting them? And so, in 1665, a King's Commission was sent over with that design. Puritan leaders and Legislatures saw through it and ignored its commands for reverence. The report of the King's Commissioners, in 1666, drawn up on the expected lines, described Puritans as rude, uncouth, bigoted, persecuting, hypocritical, grasping and toadies to the rich.

Another attack on Virginia settlers came in 1703, this time from Colonel Robert Quary, a Crown official, to the Lords of Trade. Relating how New England's influence had contagiously spread, inciting other colonies to demand the same privileges and liberties, it denounced the Virginia Assembly because "it concludes itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English Parliament." It urged that a stop be put to these "pernicious notions."

These are only three typical aspersive reports. Taking their cue from such productions, British pamphleteers, speakers, journalists and the coffee-house wits made the American colonies a target for sarcasm and odium.

Now, without the least prejudicial coloring, but purely as a historical comparison, a glimpse should be given here of some conditions prevailing in England during this same period.

If the many statutes enacted in England to restrain fraud and deceit in the manufacture and sale of wares of all kinds are to be taken as evidence, British trading life was permeated with cupidity.

An epidemic of bigoted hysteria and persecution long pervaded England. Drastic laws had been and were being passed against Protestant dissenters and more numerous against Roman Catholics, then described in all the statutes as "Papists." The Toleration act of 1689 did not give religious liberty to dissenters from the Church of England; it merely exempted them from prescribed penalties provided they took the oath of allegiance to the King and subscribed to the declaration against "Popery."

The entire body of terrifying laws passed from 1558 to 1701 against Roman Catholics, supplemented by other laws enacted in the reign of George I, remained intact.

Each age has to be judged according to the currents of that age. The reason that I am making this comparison is to point out the animus and ignorance marking America's critics of that time. The same holds true of the critics of today. Thus, in November, 1925, a series of papers by Sir John Fortescue, represented as an English historian, were published in *The Lon-*

don *Times*, and extracts cabled to America and published here. He wrote that "New England had been settled mainly by the surest and narrowest fanatics, who prated about liberty of conscience and desired liberty to persecute." Is not this a mere amplified paraphrasing of the King's Commissioners' report of the year 1666? Puritans did pass laws against Catholic priests, Quakers and other sects, but so did the Episcopalians in Virginia, under the direct domination of the Church of England, Bishop of London, enact repressive statutes against other denominations. In both cases those laws were often but duplicates of exactly the same laws previously enacted by the British Parliament.

Sir John Fortescue should cultivate an acquaintance with the statutory history of his own country. "Virginia," he writes, "in its early days had been peopled chiefly by criminals. Carolina in the seventeenth century was a refuge for the rascality of the earth." If Sir John and others of his kind would take an excursion through British pamphlets, books, speeches and magazines of the American Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period they would find that they were merely echoing all the stale fabrications so fashionable at that period.

Who and what were those alleged criminals? Some were criminals in British law by reason of their religious convictions; others were political criminals ("transported rebels," they are described in the documents); still others were criminals under British statutes because they were in debt for trivial sums or had committed some offense such as trespassing, then brutally punishable, often with death. Many of these offenses are now regarded as minor infractions. Without the least idea of what the word "criminal" implied in the seventeenth century, Fortesque uses it with twentieth-century significance.

While exploring the source of this fashion of deriding America, it is necessary to present one more large fact. Mr. James M. Beck, Solicitor General of the United States, is to be classed among the chronic disparagers. But even he and various college presidents allow themselves to fall into the well-worn groove of viewing American conditions with misgivings

and some apparent manifestations of democracy with dismay. Mr. Beck is reported to have said in one recent address that the mechanical age had made America a nation of scatterbrains. Another of his addresses, dealing with democracy in Europe, pointed out venality and inefficiency as leading causes of revolt against representative institutions.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Will such critics never inform themselves of actual conditions long prevalent under monarchies, oligarchies and aristocracies and in the ages preceding our industrial era? Most of America's critics have indulged in a mythical belief that Great Britain has always towered as the ideal of undefiled representative government. Let Mr. Beck and his fellow-alarmists consult British Parliamentary records.

Three separate statutes in the reign of William III related the "grievous" corruptions and irregularities in Parliamentary elections and the ensuing public outcry, and prohibited the giving of money and other bribes. Two more acts, passed in the years 1710 and 1711, in the reign of Queen Anne, sought to prevent fraudulent conveyances of freeholds (voting was dependent upon property qualification) and aimed to stop false voting returns. Another act, in 1729, in the reign of George II, lamented the ineffectuality of existing laws against election corruptions and provided severer penalties. Parliamentary corruption continued. In 1809 a bill was introduced in the British Parliament to prevent venal practices in elections. The *Edinburgh Review*, issue of February, 1811, described in detail how Parliamentary seats were bought and sold. Every historical student knows of the "rotten borough" agitation of 1832, and we all know to this day prodigal contributors to the winning political party are often rewarded with peerages. Great Britain has survived parliamentary corruption, and so will other countries. And observe that it was rampant in Europe long before American multimillionaires bought from legislatures seats in the United States Senate—a practice that the American people have done away with by a Constitutional amendment placing the election power in the people.

The cynic may triumphantly point out that corruption has continued in some State contests under the primary system. But the fact that the American people abolished the previous corrupt system of electing United States Senators gives good ground for believing that they will grapple with and overcome this newer form of corruption. Numerous laws against corrupt practices are already on the statute books. However they may be violated they do show the standard which the American people at large has sought to establish. The acceptance of higher ethical standards is never a sudden, sweeping process; such new standards are always combated by forces reverting to old habits and methods, especially in the case of plutocracy intent upon retaining political control.

Our present-day band of American "intellectuals," who have been so industriously hacking at America, profess to believe that their mission is exclusively a modern one, called forth by indignation at economic injustices and cultural deficiencies. A century and a quarter ago, when America was dominantly an agricultural nation of small farms, we had their predecessors scoffing at American institutions and sneering at American ways. Joseph Dennie (who now ever hears his name?) was their leader. Sixty and seventy years ago we had the same tribe aping the European literary fashion of scoring America for its ascribed commercialism. Professor C. S. Henry, the most voluble native exponent, dolefully wrote of the preponderating commercial spirit in America.

Let us glance historically at that particular period, for it was at that stage that the fiction of America's "dollar diplomacy" was invented. That precise term was not then applied, but the substance was. For centuries the diplomacy of England, Holland and France had been exerted in behalf of the great trading companies and Colonial enterprises. The record of the East India Company was one of bloody, grasping and oppressive aggression; that of the Dutch East India Company in Asia one of horrors. Beginning in 1656 with a small trading post on the site where Calcutta now stands, the rule of the East India Company was gradually extended to

include an enterprise of 100,000,000 people.

After the Holy Alliance was formed in 1821 by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, with the evident aim of resisting the spread of republican ideas, America proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine. It manifested its sympathy with peoples struggling for republican institutions. The European press, largely reflecting the views and purposes of governing classes, began a concerted effort to slur American diplomacy. A sequence of editorials was published denouncing America and America's policy as "covetous," "rapacious," "self-aggrandizing." There was another factor. America's merchant marine was so successful that European, chiefly British, newspapers demanded that their Governments take every possible means to insure their own commercial supremacy. Of the many denunciations of America I shall quote a typical one: An editorial in *The London Times* on June 14, 1830, described America as "a money-making republic," where "the worship of the divinity of lucre is withal so universal, we might add, so fanatical."

"DOLLAR DIPLOMACY" CHARGE UNJUSTIFIED

To make a fair test it is necessary to compare, not the action of isolated groups in the two countries, but the spirit of the respective peoples at large as shown by Governmental action. Among other performances the East India Company forced opium upon China against Chinese law and over the protest of the Chinese Government. An estimated £6,000,000 a year revenue from this opium trade was flowing into England. When China again sought to prevent the importation of opium, British warships were placed at the disposal of the East India Company to enforce its purposes in the opium war of 1840-1842.

Meanwhile, what preoccupied the large activities of American diplomacy? The prompt recognition of the South American republics; manifestations of sympathy with the independent movement in Greece, and later in Hungary. The doubters will say (as some have recently said) that such actions did not represent the American peo-

ple as a whole; that they were merely ebullitions of political speeches and diplomatic notes. But what happened when the movement for a republic led by Louis Kossuth in Hungary failed? He and forty-two companions were brought to New York City on Dec. 5, 1851, by the United States war steamer Mississippi. During the next two weeks he was the guest of New York City. In Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Annapolis, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Boston and in other cities he received enthusiastic popular welcomes. Legislatures proclaimed him; in at least one city—Cincinnati—the citizens presented him with money and arms to aid in achieving Hungary's independence.

When America in 1898 warred with Spain to free Cuba the same old charges of "dollar diplomacy," or its current equivalent, were made by the European press, with a few exceptions in England. "Lust for empire" and commercialism were charged. During Spain's entire rule all Cuba's principal industries were hampered by excessive imposts, and in all conceivable ways commerce with every country but Spain was crippled. Save for the war with Mexico, dictated by the slaveholding oligarchy, and dubious methods leading to the Panama revolution, America's diplomacy, taken as an entirety, has been concerned with principles of human advancement and fair dealing. It was the first of nations to remit indemnities. In the insistence upon payment of debts or recognition of contracts it has never shelled defenseless cities.

In its dealings with defeated nations America brushed aside all precedents by which the vanquished had been completely at the mercy of the victor. It established the principle of paying for conquered territory. However little the origin of the war with Mexico reflected credit upon America, the peace treaty settlement gave Mexico \$15,000,000 for ceded territory and assumed the sum of \$3,250,000 for claims of American citizens upon Mexico. The sum of \$10,000,000 more was paid for the Gadsden Purchase, comprising a strip of land between the Gila River and the Mexican State of Chihuahua. At the time European nations noted with great

astonishment the unprecedented nature of payment to a defeated nation. After the Spanish War America likewise paid Spain \$20,000,000 for the already conquered Philippines, to which, by every old international law, the United States was entitled. Early in the nineteenth century, when the American Colonization Society sought a home in Africa for emancipated negroes, it obtained Liberia by peaceable settlement, not by force. Long after slavery was abolished, America retained its interest in Liberia as a ward of the United States, as evidenced by the appointment of a Commissioner by President Roosevelt in 1909 to help adjust Liberian affairs.

Since the World War a number of foreign statesmen, Generals and fair-minded publicists have dropped all talk of "dollar diplomacy" and freely acknowledged American idealism. But unable to discard old fashions, some foreign literati as well as our native "intellectuals" still chatter about "dollar diplomacy."

AMERICA'S IDEALS

What have been America's ideals which have had so widespread an influence? The limits of this article debar anything more than the merest résumé. First was the establishment of the principle that men are competent to govern themselves. From a qualified republic America soon became a democratic republic. Following America's example of one hundred and fifty years ago, a large part of the peoples of the world have thrown off, one after another, the monarchical superstition. A century or so ago the statesmen and press of many of those nations were declaring that the American Republic would dissolve in anarchy and ruin.

Second was the American democracy's action in abolishing caste and rank distinction and standardizations. Until then the dictum everywhere prevailed that no country could get along without an entrenched aristocracy. Accident of birth gave continuous social, political and economic power. The attitude, privileges and thought of each class and stratum were rigidly prescribed by a fixed code, often directed by law, but always customary. Born to a particular station, people had

to dress, think and act accordingly. America obliterated that long-enduring system. Cable reports tell us that England is only now eliminating primogeniture—one hundred and fifty years after its obliteration by the American people.

Third—America was the first nation to establishinalienable religious liberty in both its Federal and State Constitutions. In Europe, Church and State long remained fused—in some countries it is still so—and mere toleration gave no assured rights. In England it was not until 1839 that Roman Catholics were allowed to be eligible for Parliament, and as late as 1851 Aderman Salomons, Jewish member for Greenwich, was not permitted to take his seat in the House of Commons. Holland gave toleration only; the Dutch Reformed Church long remained the established church, and to this day it receives proportionate preference in State subsidies. Our Ku Klux Klan is a mere transitory outbreak of prejudice, which is already beginning to disappear, like its much more formidable progenitors, the Know-Nothings and the American Protective Association. There is nothing in our organic law to prevent the election of an adherent of any faith to the highest office.

Fourth—America is the first country that ever existed to proclaim and provide for the right of every child to an education. Previously, education had been for the few. It long remained so in Europe. Dictatorships do not come in where the entire mass of people is trained to literacy. One of our critics, Mr. Zangwill, should have noted that the education of an entire nation is a much slower and far broader process than the education of a handful. America is only in the midway stage; quality education is now emerging. England has not yet democratized its schools. It is having no easy time ridding itself of its traditional class distinctions in schools and in the introduction of a school system founded upon the self-respecting American principle of general education as a duty at public expense.

Fifth—at a terrible cost of life and money America abolished chattel slavery, which had been forced upon it despite Colonial protests and laws which British rulers voided. True, Great Britain in 1833

emancipated slaves in the distant West Indies, but this was slight and easy compared to the complex problem in America, where slavery was so deeply interwoven with the life of a considerable part of the population in an immense area.

Sixth—Americans threw off the degradation of patronage and democratized art. Censorious dabblers, condemning what they style American deficiencies in art, now attribute them to pervasive industrialism. Their predecessors, a century and a quarter ago, put the blame upon the influence of republican institutions, which, they said, was fatal to refinements. Two and a half centuries back the indictment was on still different grounds, namely, that American settlers were a rough crew whose descendants never could develop capacity for niceties of taste.

Dilettanti criticizing America's capacity for art show indubitably that they have nothing but the most conventional knowledge of the history of art. They are addicted to telling how, in the "golden age" before industrialism, workmanship was on a high artistic plane and the creative artist was encouraged. When was that wonderful age? I have the numerous official documentary proofs that in the long centuries antedating industrialism a large part of the wares made were bad in design and fraudulent in quality. Yes, even the tile used on houses was often of the poorest quality. The mass of people lived in discomfort, drudgery and monotony. Good furniture, gold and silver plate, cloth, shoes, hats and other products were usually the exceptions. Poets, artists, music composers, architects constantly faced starvation—some did starve—and the only alternative open against destitution was to manoeuvre for the patronage of some supercilious nobleman, rich merchant or condescending politician.

In a definite movement American artists imbued with the spirit of their country revolted against the whole nauseating tradition of patronage. The American people at large refused to take any interest in the Old World art conception, which led generally to the housing of paintings and other treasures in palaces and mansions, inaccessible to the populace. The many publicly established art museums in Ameri-

can cities attest that the American aspiration has been successful. While our critics have been mooning over "the glories of the past," the American people have set a standard for the world in devising every variety of comfort within the house. They do not share the critic's rhapsodies of classic mansions or feudal palaces, which externally were impressive but which, transposed to modern life, become anachronisms. Worshiping the exotic arts of the past, these critics do not seem to understand that even those distinctive arts were many centuries in developing and that America is fast giving evidence that it is creating its own original art expressions, conformable to the spirit of the people and age.

NEW INDUSTRIAL IDEALISM

Without delineating other proofs of America's idealism, one final aspect may be touched upon. To those of captious outlook American capitalism or, as it is now styled, industrialism, looms as the overshadowing factor, giving an ominous tone to American life. I myself have contributed my share toward exposing capitalist crimes committed in the heaping up of great fortunes. Nevertheless, at its worst, capitalism in America has been on a basis superior to that of other countries. There the amassing of wealth has been pursued with the sole aim of personal or family aggrandizement, and in some countries of purchasable elevation to the peer-

age. In America the essential aim of the capitalist has been that of proving his own success in a recognized economic contest. Early in America's history the popular standard was set that opprobrium attached to any rich man who did not acknowledge his duties to humanity by devoting much or all of his wealth to public benefactions. That, with very few exceptions, this standard has been steadfastly followed, is shown by the incalculable sums thus given. A new American standard is now developing; namely, that it is inconsistent with self-respect to depend upon the bounty of such rich individuals.

The backwardness of America's critics is nowhere better illustrated than by their view of industrialism. They write of it as though its methods and results are now the same as in the years 1850, 1870 or 1910. Under their eyes the processes of industrialism in America have undergone immense changes (which I have not the space to specify), but they are oblivious to its transformations.

In one successful movement after another America has established political, religious, social and racial equality. Some phases of this equality may not reach that superlative state of perfection which cavilers demand. But the vital principles are indelibly written in our laws and institutions. Can the American people stop in their historic progress toward equality? The next logical step foreshadowed is that of some practicable measure of economic equality.

II. America's Opportunism

By V. F. CALVERTON

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THE contention that the career of America is a revelation of sacrifice and idealism is nothing more than the mirage of the myth maker. The facts of American history invariably refute it at time of calm and at time of crisis. It is the sentimental patriot who defends American idealism; it is the scientific historian who denies it.

In the first place, it should be made clear that in denying idealism to America

the scientific historian does not attribute it to other nations. The history of the evolution of nations, in the final analysis, is without that gleam of poetic justice and that gesture of humanitarian generosity that politicians parade as national virtue and rulers proclaim as national pride. American historians and demagogues, however, have been conspicuous in their propagation of the myth of American idealism. They have obscured fact, twisted episode

and mutilated conclusion in order to pamper a prejudice and perpetuate an enchanting and paralyzing illusion.

Let us examine this myth of American idealism. Its first flare is supposed to be in the direction of religious tolerance. It was America that brought the precious privilege of religious toleration to the modern world. This fact is prominent in high school text and political polemic, and is accepted with a naïveté that is culpably sophomoric in tenor. Yet it is arrant exaggeration and specious falsehood. There was religious tolerance in Holland years before Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson and their disciples were driven from Massachusetts "for holding and disseminating doctrines which the Puritan leaders held to be false." (Homer C. Hockett: *Political and Social History of the United States*, 1492-1828, page 34.) The principle of toleration, for which Williams fought, was "a rare doctrine in that age." (*ibid.*) Nevertheless, Holland had allowed religious toleration decades before the hegira of Williams from Massachusetts to Rhode Island.

In many parts of America religious derailedictions were condemned with a severity that was scarcely surpassed by the Inquisition. Having justified their flight from England on the score of persecution, the Puritans inaugurated a system of intolerance in their colonies that was more oppressive than the one in England from which they escaped. Religious persecution in England was drastic, but in America it was pathological. Under the blue laws in Connecticut, the Quakers "were fined in great numbers for refusing to attend the Church which they hated—and which also warmly abhorred them; and they were zealously set in the stocks, and whipped and caged and pilloried as well—whipped if they came and expressed any dissatisfaction, and whipped if they stayed away." (*The Sabbath in Puritan New England*.) Other dissenters met with the same religious consideration. Individuals were fined for not attending church and imprisoned for infinitesimal violations of ecclesiastical command. The instance of William Blagden in New Haven is excellently illustrative of this fact:

William Blagden, who lived in New Haven in

1647, was "brought up" for absence from meeting. He pleaded that he had fallen into the water late on Saturday, could light no fire on Sunday to dry his clothes, and so had lain in bed to keep warm while his only suit was drying. He was convicted of "slothfulness" for this, and sentenced to be "publicly whipped." (Blue Laws of Connecticut, page 8.).

Men and women were fined for walking on Sunday, gathering peas in their garden on the Sabbath, "loitering or drinking in or about any public place after sunset on Saturday night," and for criticizing ministers or disparaging the Church. Punitive measures of no mild character were administered. In 1631, for example, Peter Ratcliffe "for speaking against the churches had his ears cut off, was whipped and banished." (*ibid.*) Death was meted out to those guilty of worshiping "any other God but the Lord God," or for uttering blasphemy, or committing adultery. The merry massacres of witches by religious right and legal precedent have become a classic.

Nor must it be thought that this intolerance of worship and weakness was confined to New England. In Virginia, for instance, imprudent denunciations of ministers constituted a serious offense, and from the *Articles, Laws and Orders, Divine, Politique and Martial, for the Colony in Virginia*, we discover the regulation prescribing the penalty of death for non-attendance at church on Sunday. (These were reprinted at Hartford, Conn., in 1876.) With regard to definite intolerance of worship, the words of Thomas Jefferson are signally revealing:

The first settlers (of Virginia) were emigrants from England, of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religions of all other persuasions. Possessed as they became of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren who had migrated to the Northern Government. . . . Several acts of the Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693 had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the "unlawful" assembling of Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the State; had ordered those already there, and such as should come thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country—provided a milder penalty for the first and second

return, but death for the third. If no capital executions took place here, as in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the Church, or spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us. (*Notes on Virginia*, 1788, page 167.)

In the face of these facts the contention that America was founded for religious freedom, that American idealism was revealed in its toleration of all religious customs and differences, is mere vaudevillian rhetoric. Holland, as stated, had toleration long before America. The English Puritans originally fled from the persecution of their homeland to the toleration of Holland. American intolerance, it is true, was part of a world intolerance. It is not our claim that America was worse than the rest of the world, or worse than England, for that matter, except that its Puritan psychology was more pathological in its extremities of expression than that of the English aristocracy, which was astringent and rigid enough in its compulsions. Our argument is that America has no peculiar claim to priority or idealism in the history of religious toleration.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE TO FOSTER TRADE

The principle of toleration is an outgrowth of economic and political evolution. The instance of Maryland is significant. Maryland, like Rhode Island, was an exception in the matter of religious toleration. It is often cited as an example of American idealism. The facts are interesting in evidencing the dependence of toleration upon political and economic factors. Toleration in Maryland was an expedient, not a form of altruism. The statement of Professor Hockett is illustrative:

Baltimore was a Catholic, and many of his co-religionists were among the early immigrants. Within a few years they were outnumbered by the Protestants, who were inclined to re-enact the harsh anti-Catholic laws of England. To protect the Catholics, Baltimore procured the passage in 1649 of a toleration act which insured religious liberty for all Christians.

Tolerance and trade go hand in hand in the vortex of economic competition. The doctrine of tolerance grew out of theories of the Restoration economists who contended that trade could not prosper without tolerance. (Tawney: *Religion and the*

Rise of Capitalism, page 10.) Tolerance was a contribution of the bourgeoisie that grew out of its economic struggle with the landed class, the aristocracy. As the sociality of the Middle Ages disappeared and individualism arose, the growing bourgeoisie found its religious defender in John Calvin. Its religious outlook gradually took on the character of its economics (*ibid.*), and thus we find that its early intolerance is changed into tolerance, and we discover its economists maintaining that persecution is incompatible with prosperity. This was singularly true, in the words of Tawney, "since it was on the pioneers of economic progress that persecution principally fell." Every law of persecution, argued one of the defendants of the new economic philosophy, is not only "expressly against the very principles and rules of the gospel of Christ," but is also "destructive to the trade and well-being of our nation by oppressing and driving away the most industrious working hands, and depopulating, and thereby impoverishing, our country, which is capable of employing ten times the number of people we now have." (*A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Gentleman in the Country About the Odiousness of Persecution*, 1677.) Temple, Petty, De la Court, the leading economists of the era, all defended the same thesis. It was part of the philosophy of an age that was being rapidly altered by the changing economics of a commercial civilization. When toleration came in America, then, it came because the economic conditions of our life had changed, because our economic life needed it for its expansion, and not because of any American sacrifice or altruism.

Another form of the myth is that the American Revolution was an expression of the hatred of the American people for kings and monarchies, and that the American Constitution was inspired by the ideal of democracy. When we examine the realities of the period, however, we soon learn that this interpretation also is but the chimera of the chauvinist. The Revolutionary war was instigated by a relatively small portion of the people of America, and was undoubtedly carried on in the interests of that class. But of a population of two and a half million, "less than one-

third may have actively supported the American cause; over one-half remained neutral; and at least 250,000 remained loyal to the British crown." (Professor Max Farrand: *The Development of the United States*, page 45). Apropos of the Declaration of Independence and the war, John Adams wrote:

New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided, if their propensity was not against us, that if New England on one side and Virginia on the other had not kept them in awe, they would have joined the British. (Faust: *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. 1, page 289; quoted from James Oneal's *Workers in American History*.)

In another letter he declared: "On mature deliberation I conclude . . . that more than one-third of influential characters were against it."

Violence was often used to coerce what Lecky called "an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love," in order that the cause of the revolutionaries might be returned the victor. (Lecky: *The American Revolution*; Fisher: *True History of the American Revolution*.)

CONSTITUTION ANTI-DEMOCRATIC

As to the Constitution, the myth is even more exaggerated. Instead of fostering democracy, the Constitution frustrated it. The Constitutional Convention was carried on behind closed doors, and it was not until two generations later that the minutes of the convention were revealed to the public. Motivated by the necessity of erecting a strong central Government to protect the individual States from the ravages of interstate competition in trade and commerce, and of saving the propertied classes from the danger of expropriation at the hands of propertyless multitudes who had become restive and recalcitrant since the end of the war, the Constitutional Convention created a central Government with power to command the individual States and restricted the right of suffrage, so that "there were probably not more than 120,000 men who had the right to vote out of all the four million inhabitants enumerated in the first census (1790)." (Wilson: *History of the American People*, Vol. III, pages 120-121.) The basis for suffrage as well as office-hold-

ing was property. As late as 1842, in Rhode Island, Dorr led a rebellion which aimed to gain the franchise for the workers. Dorr was imprisoned, but later freed. As McMaster stated it: "The broad doctrine that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed was not accepted by the Fathers." (*The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America*, page 18.) That McMaster was correct was proved by the utterances of the delegates as well as the achievements of the Convention. Alexander Hamilton cried "against the vices of democracy," urged that "one branch of the legislature hold their places for life, or at least during good behavior," and added that "the executive, also, be for life." Pinckney urged that "the qualification for President should be not less than \$100,000." (James Oneal: *Workers in American History*, page 130.) In brief, in the absence of Jefferson in France, Franklin was the only one who spoke for the commoner. It was not a benevolent idealism, but an acquisitive realism that reigned.

With the exposure of these forms of the myth, the idealists turn to our later history for their justification. The story of the indentured servants and redemptioners in America, the facts of their suffering en route and their untold misery once here, are, of course, obscured. The husband, wife and children were often "separated by being sold to different masters" (Geiser: *The Redemptioners*, page 64); that women and children were frequently offered for sale at auction (Welby: "English Settlements" in *Early Western Travels*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Vol. XII, page 306), and that such individuals were many times beaten and incarcerated, are other facts that likewise have not been emphasized by the idealistic historian. Although the Mexican War, too, is another episode in the history of acquisitive America that benefits by the tender avoidance of emphasis, the fact that in the treaty we gave Mexico \$15,000,000 for territory ceded to us is always stressed as evidence of our equitableness and generosity. There are few instances in American history that so starkly betray the character of our opportunistic altruism as the monetary compromise in this treaty. When we recall

General Grant's words: "The occupation and annexation of Texas was, from the inception of the movement to its final culmination, to acquire territory out of which slave States might be formed for the American slaveholders. Even if the annexation of Texas could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico could not. * * * The war was one of conquest in the interest of an institution." (Vol. 1, page 33, page 115.) And when we remember Abraham Lincoln's sharp denunciation of the war, and remember also the fact that nearly 900,000 square miles of land were seized by us as the reward of the righteous, the monetary payment for this territory is seen to be nothing more than a gesture of deceit. In fact, it was merely an attempt to hide and palliate a historical atrocity.

NO IDEALISM IN CIVIL WAR AIMS

The Civil War is another figment of the myth. At the expense of great sacrifice of money and men, America achieved the annihilation of chattel slavery which England had fettered us with, but which we cultivated into an institution with such profitable assiduity and zeal. The phrase "*America achieved*" is amusing because absurd. Was not the South part of America? But let us subject the situation to an examination. At once we note that the Civil War was a struggle between two hostile groups which represented two antagonistic systems of society, the one agrarian and the other industrial. The agrarian system of the South, due to its telluric environment, had come to depend upon chattel slavery as the basis of its labor. The industrial system of the North, due also to its telluric environment, was by its very nature ill adapted to chattel slavery as a medium of labor. The wage system was more expedient. Due to the disparities in economic organization which brought about conflicting attitudes toward the matter of the tariff and a score of other issues, disagreements grew into antipathies and rivalries into enmities.

It is important to observe at this point that slavery was entirely an economic issue. Attitudes toward slavery changed with the fluctuations of economics, the respective variations in the use-value of the slave, the

respective rise and fall in his cost and selling price. Before the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 slavery was not developing into a profitable institution. Only in the rice plantations of Georgia and South Carolina was slavery proving remunerative to the owners. At the Constitutional Convention, therefore, we find that the representatives from the South, with the exception of the States of Georgia and South Carolina, were willing to terminate the slave trade, and many were prepared to free their own slaves and endeavor to abolish chattel slavery from their domains. In both 1779 and 1796, before the effects of the cotton-gin were appreciated, two plans to abolish slavery had been proposed. (Bassett: *A Short History of the United States*, page 351.) At this time the price of a young, able-bodied, unskilled male slave had dropped to \$300. When the cotton-gin became effective, however, making possible the cheap cotton that so widely influenced the growth of the factory system of England and the world, the price of the slave leaped to nearly \$700 in 1810, and with the development of the cotton kingdom in the South it continued to rise. In 1840 the price of a slave ranged from between \$700 and \$1,200, and in 1860 from between \$1,100 and \$1,800. (Nearing: *The American Empire*, page 47.) The attitude of the South inevitably altered with its new economics. The rise in the price of a slave was reflected in its new attitude. Slavery had become a profitable institution. Southern leaders now justified slavery as necessary and natural. In truth, it was given an ethical justification, founded upon the order of nature and the command of Scripture. In a South Carolina paper we find a declaration that "slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black." Senator Hammond of South Carolina advised the North to take the Southern slave system as a model for its future evolution. Scores of Southern leaders were even more ferocious and declamatory in their utterances and suggestions.

Did the North achieve the emancipation of slaves because of an idealism peculiar to its program? In Lincoln's campaign for the Presidency he constantly emphasized

the fact that he was not fighting against existence of slavery in the States in which it already prevailed, but against its extension. In his first inaugural address Lincoln stated that his aim was to preserve the Union, either with or without slavery. In fact, even after Lincoln's election, so eager were the North and the Republican Party to "maintain the Union, and so indifferent were they to the slavery question, that both houses of Congress passed a provision to a constitutional amendment, and sent it to the States for ratification, providing that slavery should forever be guaranteed and that no future amendment to the Constitution should ever be submitted authorizing Congress to interfere with slavery in the States where it was then located. (Simons: *Social Forces in American History*, page 262.)

When the Proclamation of Emancipation was finally issued, it was motivated by the realism of expediency and not the idealism of justice. The manoeuvre of emancipation was aimed not to help the negro but to cripple the South. The fact that the interest of the North in the negro, with the exception of the small but passionate group of Abolitionists, was not even one of superficial sympathy is proved by the North's tacit acquiescence in the Southern practice of excluding the negro from the privilege of suffrage. Our abolition of chattel slavery, then, is a tribute to economic opportunism, and not to national magnanimity and sacrifice.

AMERICA'S "DOLLAR DIPLOMACY"

American diplomacy, correctly described as "dollar diplomacy," is also often cited as evidence of our idealism. Instigated by the "Holy Alliance," which aimed to resist the dissemination of republican propaganda, the Monroe Doctrine was passed as an expression of our determination not to allow the countries south of us to be oppressed or conquered by the predatory nations of Europe. In this doctrine, and in our later diplomacy, we have manifested a sympathy for republican institutions and lent a protecting hand to all peoples struggling for the democratic ideal. So the myth runs. Again we discover that reality dissolves the myth. Our attitude toward weaker nations, in fact, has aimed at domi-

nation instead of democratization. In Hawaii we gave a vivid exhibition of our opportunism. After a number of attempts to annex Hawaii, our business men finally plotted and consummated a revolution, as farcical in form as a melodramatic cinema, which prepared the situation for the permanent annexation of the islands during the stress of the Spanish-American War. Democracy was abrogated. In the islands only those persons could vote for a Senator who possessed \$3,000 in personal property or \$1,500 in real estate, or had an income of \$600 a year. By this legislative legerdemain the right of suffrage was restricted to the sugar planters, business and professional men. The natives were practically excluded from any share in the Government. (Beard: *Contemporary American History*; Nearing and Freeman: *Dollar Diplomacy*.) In the Spanish-American War our diplomacy was not less acquisitive. After the war, precipitated by an explosion and fomented by hysteria, Porto Rico was annexed, the Philippines were conquered, and the Platt Amendment was inserted in the Cuban treaty by which our control over the island was insured. It must be remembered that our ambitions to control Cuba extended back to the '50s and were given definite expression in the Ostend Manifesto in 1854. The spirit of the committee that drew up the manifesto was nakedly disclosed in its recommendation that if Spain refused to sell Cuba to the United States, "by every law, human or divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." (Schlesinger: *Political and Social History of the United States*, page 39.) Few episodes were more merciless and undemocratic than our aggressive conduct in the Philippines. The struggle with the Philippines, however, was even less culpable than our brazenness and duplicity in Panama. Our aggressions in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, our purchase of the Danish West Indies without consideration of the consent of the inhabitants, our seizures in Santo Domingo, are additional examples of our acquisitive diplomacy.

Our idealistic claims in other spheres

of activity are no more satisfactorily founded than our claims in the spheres of war and diplomacy. Proclaiming the principle that men are able to govern themselves, we have repudiated it in the South by depriving the negro of suffrage and stultified it in the Central American countries, Haiti and the Philippines. We have abolished caste but not class. What privileges the workers have today have been gained through their organization and struggle, and not through any altruism on the part of the Government or the judiciary, which still uses the injunction as a means of frustrating the power of the strike as an economic weapon in the hands of the proletariat. Our free educational system was gained largely through the agitation and demands of the labor unions, and not through the generosity and idealism of the intelligentsia. In 1829, a Workingmen's Committee of Philadelphia "drew a model outline for a system of education," and in a score of labor journals the demand for free education became insistent. (James Oneal: *The Workers in American History*; and various other authorities.) The upper classes opposed this demand. Newspapers ridiculed and denounced it. The National Gazette of Philadelphia regarded free education as "incompatible with the very organization and being of civil society." It was chiefly through the economic influence of the trade unions that free public schools were at length established. Racial equality does not exist except in political theory. In the South, as we have said, the negro is politically impotent. The success of the Ku Klux Klan in several Western States violated any semblance of racial

equality by the erection of religious restriction and pigmentary preference. And in art the only significant figures that our nation has produced have been those who have escaped our consuming acquisitiveness.

The conception of an idealistic America has thus become untenable. Our recent stand toward war debts has aroused the hostility of both France and England. Lloyd George recently declared that Britain's agreement to pay her war debt to the United States has brought Europe into its present financial difficulty. Philip Snowden asserted with emphasis:

In fifteen years it (the United States) will be taking \$400,000,000 a year from Europe. It will cost one day's labor by 320,000,000 workers in Europe to pay annual tribute to the United States.

Under our settlement, America, the richest country in the world, whose national income is increasing at the rate of \$10,000,000,000 a year, whose capital wealth is increasing at the rate of \$50,000,000,000 a year, who came into the war nearly three years after the outbreak of hostilities and whose slogan "No Material Advantages" was emblazoned on her banners—America is willing to take the whole reparations paid by Germany and not one European ally will be getting a single penny. The position cannot permanently continue.

In brief, it will have cost four nations, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, \$400,000,000 per year for the next half century, or \$25,000,000,000 in all, for securing the aid of the United States in the war for democracy. This is the latest form of acquisitiveness of an America that myth has endeavored to eulogize as idealistic.



Germany's War Guilt Reaffirmed

By RAYMOND TURNER

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IN allied countries during the war there was nearly complete agreement that so far as immediate causes were concerned Germany was mostly to blame. That is to say, while many far-reaching causes had contributed to bring on the struggle, in respect of which each belligerent might have a good case, yet the war that began in 1914 started when Germany began it, and this war came directly, for the most part, from her actions in the days preceding her declarations of war on Russia and France. Even in the United States these ideas were accepted by most people after they had studied the matter, notwithstanding wide and powerful pro-German propaganda that was carried on for some time.

In the years that have followed, a vast amount of evidence and information has been added to what was then known, much of it from Government archives, much of it reminiscence, opinion and comment. Enlargement of knowledge about the immediate causes of the war has resulted, but most of the important new evidence confirms the judgment earlier made.

After the war many Germans, and advocates of Germany, were anxious to remove odium from her. In addition to desiring to present their case at its best, many hoped for rescinding of indemnity payments and revision of the Treaty of Versailles. In course of time there were widespread and elaborate efforts made by "revisionists" to this end. Furthermore, in

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Professor Turner states that limitation of this article to the maximum space which CURRENT HISTORY allows has made necessary the omission of references to the sources and to authoritative secondary studies. It has compelled the author to deal briefly with no more than what he considers principal factors, not allowing him to write about interesting but less important matters, and compelling him to deal very slightly with controversies that have arisen. For an account of many of these matters, with more extended comment and discussion, the author refers to his *Europe Since 1870* (revised edition), which has just been published (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927).

The principal sources that have to do with the immediate causes of the war, Professor Turner states, are the various collections of documents published by the Governments concerned: *Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (1914); *Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War*, ed. by J. B. Scott, 2 vols. (1916); *British Official Documents on the Origins of the*

War, Vol. XI (1926); *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, ed. by K. Kautsky, Count M. Montgelas, and W. Schücking, 4 vols. (1919); *Weissbücher des Parlamentarischen Untersuchungsausschusses zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, 2 vols. (1920-1); Pius Dirr; *Bayerische Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch und zum Versailler Schuldsspruch* (third ed., 1925); *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges*, 1914, ed. by R. Gooss, 3 vols. (1919).

Additional light is afforded by the numerous reminiscences, memoirs, and collections of letters and dispatches that have appeared. Among them should be mentioned *Der Diplomatische Schriftwechsel Iwolksis*, 1911-1914, ed. by F. Stieve, 4 vols. (1924); and R. Poincaré: *Au Service de la France*, Vols. I and II (1926).

The best analysis of the documents and accounts of the immediate causes of the war is by P. Renouvin: *Les Origines Immédiates de la Guerre* (1925). Professor S. B. Fay's articles, "New Light on the Origins of the World War," in *The American Historical Review*, July, October, 1920, January, 1921, are now insufficient because of the great accession of material since he wrote, and it was always necessary to use them with caution. In minor writings this erudite author shows increasing tendency to lean to the side of the Germans wherever he can, but his promised book on the subject is eagerly awaited. So far, Professor Turner adds, no adequate and critical volume on the genesis of the war has appeared in this country.

the reaction and disillusionment necessarily experienced by many radicals—those opposed to the existing system, and hence to the Allies who were not overthrown, many youths who followed the fashion of casting ridicule and doubt on what others believed—all made increasing efforts to deny that Germany and Austria were responsible for the war in 1914, while some affirmed that other powers were undoubtedly guilty.

Everywhere Germans, radicals and others declared again and again that the Treaty of Versailles was a grievous error, that Germany was not "solely" responsible for the war—something that no competent narrator had ever averred—that Germany was not as responsible as were Russia, France or Great Britain, that belief to the contrary had arisen during the conflict when nearly all people—except those who propounded these arguments—had been victims of "war hysteria," that one could judge more properly now, that new evidence had appeared to overthrow preceding assertions, that formerly the Allies had gained credence by falsifying documents, suppressing evidence and spreading misrepresentation.

INDIRECT CAUSES OF GREAT WAR

The great war brought such misery and ruin and so many agencies made people realize more fully the horror of war, that there was stern resolve to fix accountability for it. Many causes conduced to war in Europe, and often before that had been the case; but mostly it was the actions of Germany—with Austria playing an uglier but less important part—that led directly to the particular war that came in 1914, and to Germany responsibility is with justice primarily assigned.

Recently lawyers have tried to divert attention from their clients to heredity, conditions of society, remote considerations and general causes. Thus some defendants have escaped in part or entirely the consequences of their actions. In like manner many have attempted to show that Germany was no more to blame for the Great War than were other powers, because of an old, long-continuing evil system of international relations and because militarism and vicious diplomacy were prevalent then in Europe. To keep the

argument clear it should be realized that with such arguments general, not immediate, causes are concerned.

Historians have repeatedly described the general causes and conditions conduced to war in Europe before 1914. They have not failed to say that for some of these things Germany was not a whit more to blame than the others. Certain nations possessed less territory than they seemed to need. Others lacked outlets for trade. Differences in birth rate and growth of population caused fear to some and trouble to others. There was enduring resentment in France for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, though by 1914 few believed she would ever go to war to recover these lands. For years there had been increasing rivalry, suspicion and dread between Germany and England. Older was the rivalry between Russia and Austria-Hungary—with Germany now behind her—for influence and possessions in the Balkans; each rival had high aspirations in this dangerous area, aspirations that to each one of them seemed proper and noble; each one was resolved to prevent by war, if need were, advantage to the other; Russia had striven to be the leader of a Balkan League; Austria was herself forming such a Balkan League in 1914.

War was constantly made more possible by increase of armies and armaments on both sides. All the Continental powers had followed the system of Prussian "universal" military training. In 1914 Germany's opponents had greater numbers of soldiers and ships, but her admirable organization, her ability to strike quickly, her amazing industrial system prepared for war service, and her central position, made her military might dreaded by her opponents, though her power was suspected rather than revealed until the war began.

There were two opposing groups of powers. This had followed from Bismarck's arrangements. In 1879 Austria-Hungary and the German Empire had made an alliance. In 1882 Italy joined them to form the Triple Alliance. For a time Great Britain was friendly to this combination or loosely attached. In 1883 Rumania was added as an appendage. In 1914 Bulgaria and Turkey were attached. It was not until 1893 that the so-called Dual Alliance was made between Russia and

France. It was only in 1904 that England and France settled their differences by the agreement known as the Entente Cordiale. It was three years later that Russia and England, having arranged their differences also, the loose association of Russia, France and Great Britain began to be known as the Triple Entente. Italy continued in the Triple Alliance, but sometimes gravitated toward the Triple Entente.

So long as the Triple Alliance was opposed only by isolated powers, there was little chance of any war. After the Triple Entente took its place, Germany could no longer enjoy uncontested hegemony in Europe. There was then more danger and more chance of war. But if it was right for the Germans to build up a "defensive" alliance, it was just as proper for opponents to build up "defensive" arrangements in opposition.

As to the immediate causes of the Great War there is no doubt, and there never will be any doubt, that Germany gave Austria assurances that encouraged her to declare war on Serbia, an action that would bring Russia into conflict with Austria, and with Germany, unless Russia should be frightened and yield. Austria then declared war on Serbia. It is a matter of undisputed record that the larger conflict came after Russia and France had received from Germany demands the acceptance of which would have given Germany and Austria just what they desired. It can never be denied that the Great War began with declarations of war by Germany on Russia and France. How did these things come to pass?

THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the thrones of Austria and Hungary, and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, in Austria-Hungary. The assassins were subjects of the Dual Monarchy, but they and others had been abetted by Serbian secret societies devoted to establishing a greater Serbia that would embrace all the South Slavs. It has been asserted that the Serbian Government planned the murder; this has been denied and not proved. It is said that when Serbian officials learned of the plan they strove to prevent it. The Serbian Govern-

ment itself sent warning to the Governor of Bosnia, where Sarajevo lies.

The news of such a crime awakened indignation all over Europe: the perpetrators should be punished. But there was much uneasiness lest Austria-Hungary take opportunity to reduce Serbia to such a position that Austria and Germany would have the predominance in the Balkans which they sought. Russia might determine to resist, and a great conflict come. There had been a crisis in the Balkans in 1909, when war was avoided because Russia yielded to German threats. There had been crises in 1912 and 1913, when Russia and Austria-Hungary confronted each other. So delicate was the situation known to be that every statesman realized that a sudden disturbance of Balkan equilibrium would probably bring a great war.

The principal incidents that followed are known with certainty and not disputed. It is by ignoring them, by stressing lesser incidents, making insinuations, and arousing suspicion that other conclusions are drawn. The most important sources are the documents published by the Austrian and German Governments.

After the assassination the Government of the Dual Monarchy at once dispatched communications to the German Government. The assassination, it was said, revealed a plot to dismember Austria-Hungary. "The aim of my Government," wrote Franz Josef, "must henceforth be to isolate and diminish Serbia." She was the pivot of the Pan-Slav policy in the Balkans. She must cease to be a political factor. Bulgaria must be attached to the Triple Alliance; Rumania held to it; Greece attracted, and a Balkan League under Russia prevented.

The German Emperor on receiving the documents told the Austrian Ambassador to report back that Austria-Hungary could count on "Germany's full support * * * action ought not to be delayed. Russia's attitude would doubtless be hostile * * * if it should even come to a war between Austria and Russia, we could be convinced that Germany would stand by our side." The Kaiser believed that Russia was not ready for war.

On July 5 and 6 the Kaiser conferred with various high officials at Potsdam.

Some narrators have acted with little good faith in respect of this event. Because the first account, coming in a roundabout way, reported that a "crown council" had been held at Potsdam, in which Germany resolved on war, and because later it was shown that no "council" was assembled, there have been endless slurs about the "Potsdam Myth," and dark inferences that this being false, so likewise were most of the accusations against Germany false. In England in the seventeenth century there were many meetings of the Privy Council and many other meetings of Privy Councilors who dealt with the most secret and important affairs of the Crown and who were yet not gathered in Privy Council. Had an outsider reported one of these groups as a "council" he would have been technically wrong, but often not far wrong in effect. It is known from German official sources that on July 5 and 6 the Kaiser consulted with several of his ministers and commanders at Potsdam.

GERMANY'S PLEDGE TO AUSTRIA.

On July 5 the acting chief of the Admiralty staff heard the Kaiser say: "A war with Russia and France may arise from the situation." Von Falkenhayn, War Minister, was asked whether the army was ready for whatever might arise: "I replied briefly and unconditionally that it was." That day the Chancellor was authorized to tell the Austrian Ambassador: "Austria must judge what is to be done to clear up her relation to Serbia; whatever Austria's decision may turn out to be, Austria can count with certainty upon it, that Germany will stand behind her as an ally and a friend."

In this country Professor Fay first directed general attention to this all-important promise, deducing from it Germany's large responsibility for what followed. It was always evident that Austria alone would not risk a conflict with Russia. Now, before any international crisis had developed, Germany in effect promised full assistance in advance to Austria-Hungary in whatever measures she might think fit to take, even if they led to war with Russia, which would as certainly involve war with France, and maybe with Great Britain also.

"Revisionists" have preferred to divert attention from this major incident. Others have admitted the gravity of Germany's action, but have striven to show that she foolishly made the promise without realizing what dire results might ensue, that afterward she could not withdraw from her rash engagement. The German documents themselves make it easy to judge.

On July 7 a council of ministers was held in Vienna. All present save one favored attack on Serbia at once. That might result in a war with Russia, but they thought it better to have such a war soon than later on. Count Tisza, however, declared that such attack would make a bad impression in Europe. So it was agreed to wait until demands had been made on Serbia and rejected. A striking humiliation would not suffice. Such demands must be made that rejection would be certain. Then military action would follow. Next day a telegram came to the German Ambassador in Vienna asserting that the Kaiser expected Austria to act; Germany would not understand if the opportunity were allowed to pass without a blow. On July 14 the Austrian Government determined to present an ultimatum with short time limit. Next day the German Foreign Secretary wrote urging that if Austria-Hungary was to obtain territorial increase in the Balkans, Italy should have compensation to hold her in the Triple Alliance against Russia: in great confidence he suggested giving her a "fat bite"—the Trentino. It is in the face of all this, or rather by ignoring it mostly, that certain propagandists say the war came from plots of Russia and France against Austria and the German Empire.

At the time these communications remained secret. The assassination had been followed by days of uneasiness and hush, but soon alarming rumors were circulated. On July 17 Italy warned Austria against interfering with Serbia's independence. On July 20 Poincaré, on a visit to Russia, arrived there. He remarked to the Austrian Ambassador that with good-will the Serbian affair could easily be settled, but it might become dangerous: "Serbia had a warm friend in the Russian people; Russia had an ally, France."

Meanwhile the ultimatum to Serbia was

deliberately held back until Poincaré departed from Russia. The German Ambassador in Vienna informed his Government: "The note will be so composed that acceptance is as good as impossible" (*ausgeschlossen*). Unless unconditional acceptance was given, Austrian mobilization would follow at once.

AUSTRIA'S ULTIMATUM TO SERBIA

On the afternoon of July 23 the Austrian note was delivered. It declared that Serbia had been hostile; that the murder of the Archduke had followed from her course. Ten demands were presented. Some of them involved abrogation of Serbian sovereignty, and possible reduction to subservient position. There must be full acceptance within forty-eight hours. Serbia appealed to Russia, her particular friend and patron among the great powers. On July 25 the Russian Government declared: "Russia cannot remain indifferent." Two days later the Czar telegraphed: "Your Highness may rest assured that Russia will in no case disinterest herself in the fate of Serbia."

Advocates of Germany declare that the possibility of a general conflict began only with the meddling of Russia, calmly ignoring Germany's prior secret and decisive intervention with a promise to support Austria-Hungary in what she might do to Serbia. They say that without interference by Russia the dispute would have been merely a local affair between Austria and Serbia. That is true, if the results and the gains to follow be not thought of, just as true as that the moon was continuing to revolve about the earth, and need scarcely be said. Had Russia taken no part and Serbia been reduced to the position that Austria desired, then hegemony in the Balkans would have passed suddenly and decisively to Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. There had been all too much danger in the long machinations and intrigues of the two sides to secure their advantage. It was certain that Russia would give up her aspirations and endure such abasement only if she were afraid to resist. That Germany and Austria—as any other powers in like situation—doubtless did not desire war and hoped that it would not come is true

enough. But from the start they knew that a great war would follow such action as they took if Russia did not stand aside, and, save for some ineffectual German effort to restrain Austria when it was too late, they abated not a jot of their measures to secure their own ends.

So a great crisis was at hand. The German Empire would support Austria-Hungary. If Russia were attacked by them, France was bound by the Dual Alliance to support Russia. Great Britain might support Russia and France. Disaster would now come swiftly unless there was much restraint and unless a compromise was made.

GERMANY REFUSES INTERMEDIATION

Notable efforts for a compromise were made by Great Britain. On July 24 Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, told the German Ambassador that he was concerned lest, if Austria invaded Serbia, Russia would march to Serbia's aid. He suggested that Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy join in urging moderation on Austria and Russia. The cooperation of Germany was essential, he said next day. His proposal for a conference of the powers to intermediate—such as that which had averted war in 1913—was accepted by France and Italy and approved by Russia. On July 27 Germany refused: the conference "would practically amount to a court of arbitration," and could be called only at request of Austria and Russia. In vain Sir Edward answered: there would be no more than private and informal discussion. The German Government again refused: such a conference would have the "appearance of an 'Areopagus.'" On July 27 the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the opinion that Serbia might accept the Austrian demands entirely if they were presented by Europe, in other words, if she were yielding to a conference of the powers. He thought Sir Edward Grey might unite the ambassadors of Germany, France, Italy and Russia in the interests of peace. Upon this somewhat vague expression—which an ill-informed writer has pronounced an "excellent proposal"—the German Emperor's comment was "nonsense." (*Quatsch!*)

On that day the German Chancellor did indeed warn Austria that Germany could not refuse "all mediatory action." That very day, however, Austria decided to declare war "so as to remove all possibility of intervention." Two days before, Serbia had accepted most of Austria's demands, making reservations only in respect of those that touched her sovereignty, and offering to refer decision about them to the Hague Tribunal. Austria refused to consider this reply and mobilized forces against Serbia at once.

On July 24 a Russian council of ministers had been held. It was agreed to ask the powers to induce Austria to allow Serbia more time for her answer; advise Serbia not to resist invasion but entrust her fate to the powers; have the Czar order mobilization of the military districts nearest Austria-Hungary "according to the progress of events." Two days later the Russian Foreign Minister said: "If Austria swallows Serbia, Russia will go to war." That day Germany informed the Russian Government: "Preparatory military measures by Russia will force us to counter-measures which must consist in mobilizing the army . . . mobilization means war . . . this mobilization would be directed against both Russia and France." On July 28 Austria declared war on Serbia, and attempted invasion at once. Russia then decided to order partial mobilization on July 29, informing Germany that no aggressive action was intended against her.

The German Ambassador in Vienna wrote that Austria was determined not to permit any further Russian mobilization. Actually the Government proposed to answer the partial mobilization of Russia with a general mobilization in Austria-Hungary. That day the Kaiser summoned a council at Potsdam. Von Moltke, Commander-in-Chief, urged immediate proclamation of a "state of imminent danger of war" (*Kriegsgefahrzustand*), which German authorities admit led automatically to mobilization, which they say meant war. This was held back. No general mobilization had yet been ordered in Russia. None the less, that day an ultimatum from Germany was secretly dispatched to Belgium, to be delivered when ordered, and England was sounded about what she would

do if Germany went to war with France and with Russia.

The Kaiser, who had refused to support England's plan for avoiding a general war—the assembling of a European conference—had been striving to hold Russia back while he promised to use his own efforts at Vienna. But the principal result of this was an effort to frighten Russia into yielding at the same time that he got Austria to yield not at all.

On July 28 the Czar had proposed that the Austro-Serbian question be referred to The Hague. Meanwhile Austrian troops were penetrating into Serbia, and Austria refused even to halt their advance. On July 29 Russia ordered partial mobilization against Austria. That night the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar his opinion "that it is perfectly possible for Russia to remain a spectator in the Austro-Serbian war without drawing Europe into the most terrible war it has ever seen." The German General Staff was urging that Russian preliminary measures along the German frontier be stopped, or that Germany strike at once. On July 30 the Bavarian military attaché in Berlin telegraphed: "If Vienna refuses today's German attempt at intervention, the *Kriegsgefahrzustand* follows this very day, and then mobilization."

Russia's partial mobilization had not succeeded in bringing Austria to suspend her measures or to accept mediation, but it had caused Germany to make to Russia increasingly ominous threats. Therefore, Russian military authorities were urging general mobilization as the only prudent course. About 3 P. M., July 30, the Czar approved an order for general mobilization. The orders went out about 6 P. M. Mobilization was to begin July 31.

AUSTRIAN MOBILIZATION SPEEDED BY GERMANY

"Revisionists" have been insistent that Russia was immediately responsible for the Great War because she first ordered general mobilization, which, they say, meant war. Actually, news of the order did not reach Germany before 7:30 P. M., July 30. But Austrian general mobilization, announced as a fact at 8 A. M., and ordered by Franz Josef at 11:30 A. M.,

July 31, had been decided by the Austrian leaders the day before. The German Ambassador in Vienna knew of the Austrian decision for general mobilization on the afternoon of July 30, though the order might not be given, it was said. Not later than 8 P. M. the Austrian military attaché in Berlin telegraphed that Moltke insisted on immediate announcement of Austrian general mobilization, whereupon Germany would mobilize also. "The only means for Austria-Hungary's safety is to go through with it in the European War. Germany goes unconditionally with us." Austria, then, did not decide on general mobilization in consequence of the Russian order, but independently of it. On the afternoon of July 30 also the Bavarian attaché in Berlin sent word: "The Kaiser is resolute on the side of Moltke and the ministers of war * * * the Kaiser's intention that his sons shall serve in the war as simple officers at the front makes a splendid impression."

On July 31 "state of imminent danger of war" was proclaimed in Germany. The day before the Chancellor had asserted that such a measure meant war. That day the Kaiser telegraphed the Czar that peace might be kept if Russia would cease military measures. The Czar replied that this was technically impossible, but his troops would take no provocative action while negotiations continued. At 3:30 P. M. Germany sent to Russia an ultimatum: cease all military measures. Had Russia complied she would at once have dropped out of the controversy in helpless confusion. On Aug. 1, the Russians not obeying, Germany ordered general mobilization at 5 P. M., and declared war on Russia one hour later. That was the beginning of the Great War.

Germans and others have made much of the assertion "mobilization means war," and put the blame on Russia. That mobilization might mean war, and probably would, and that military leaders had often said it would and so expected—all of this is true. But there was no rule of international law stating this, nor was there any well defined military rule established about it. There had been extensive partial mobilizations in 1908-09 and 1912-13, with no war following. Afterward Poin-

caré justly wrote: "There is always a chance of avoiding war so long as it has not actually been declared." The Germans could mobilize more rapidly than any other power. So long as they could enforce the thesis "mobilization means war," they could always strike before an opponent was ready or else gain their end by ordering the opponent to stop. Rather than forego this advantage Germany declared war on Russia, when she would not obey, and began the Great War.

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

After proclamation of *Kriegsgefahrzustand* in Germany on the afternoon of July 31, the German Ambassador in Paris was ordered to insist that France declare what she would do in the event of war between Germany and Russia. It was later learned that he was to demand certain frontier fortresses as pledge if France abandoned her ally. That night, after a conference of French ministers, the Russian military attaché was told: "The Government is firmly decided upon war." That is, she had decided to accept the war which she must endure if she did not obey. Some have been foolish enough to interpret this by saying that France was the first to declare for war—an instance of the futility of dealing with words without the circumstances to which they refer. The reply given to the German ambassador was that "France would do that which her interests dictated." On Aug. 1, at 3:30 P. M., mobilization of the French armies was ordered, more than an hour before the German order. On Aug. 3, Germany declared war on France.

The course of Great Britain now could be foreseen, but it was not yet certain. Her vital interest demanded that she should not permit France to be crushed. If increasing German naval and military power threatened her, as previous years had seemed to show, when France was out of the way she would be left alone to face a much greater danger. Probably, therefore, she would assist France attacked by Germany, just as Germany had thought it wise to assist Austria-Hungary attacked by Russia. But Great Britain had made no binding engagement to stand by

France, and her immediate course remained undecided.

On July 31 Sir Edward Grey told the German Ambassador that if France became involved in war with Germany England would be drawn in; but he also asserted that if Germany and Austria would make "any reasonable proposal" for keeping the peace, and it appeared that France and Russia were not trying to keep it, then Great Britain "would have nothing more to do with the consequences." On Aug. 2, after Germany had declared war on Russia, and after France had ordered mobilization following the German demands, Great Britain promised to protect, if necessary, the north coast of France, the French fleet being in the Mediterranean, in accordance with arrangements under the Entente Cordiale. Germany could properly have regarded this as *casus belli* when it suited her to do so, but Great Britain might have entered the conflict too late to save France.

That Great Britain entered immediately was because the German Empire callously violated explicit international obligations under the Treaty of 1839 neutralizing Belgium—of which treaty Prussia had been a signatory and guarantor—in order to march swiftly across Belgium, not a party to the conflict, and strike France a mortal blow at once. For ages the English had striven to keep the country opposite the Thames estuary out of the hands of a great power. The danger from the German Empire now suddenly seemed more direct, and at the same time great popular indignation was aroused. On Aug. 4 the British Ambassador was instructed to demand that Germany withdraw immediately from Belgium. The German Chancellor refused, saying that for England to go to war because the Belgian treaty was violated was to make war "just for a scrap of paper." At midnight Great Britain declared war on the German Empire.

"IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY" FIXED ON GERMANY

Interest in attempting to fix responsibility and blame for the Great War is most proper. The chance of militarism "running amuck" in the future and of

great wars coming again is increased if the opinion can be held that aggressors, if successful, accomplish their aims, but failing will not be held to account. Those responsible should know their position and realize that it is known by others. Those attacked should forgive, amends being made, but when the question is raised should make it clear that they remember what the evidence has shown and let others know that they have not forgotten.

The evidence is clear and decisive. Much of it comes from official publications of the Germans and the Austrians themselves. No historical scholar has ever attempted to show that any one people was ever entirely and solely responsible for any war in which it took part. Historians have consistently declared that there were many and complex general and underlying causes of the Great War. They had long made war probable enough. It was evident that statesmen must exercise the utmost care for peace to be kept in Europe. That it could be kept was shown when successive crises in the period 1905-13 were settled. All the greater—in the midst of so many warnings and so much evident danger—would be the onus upon those sufficiently heartless and rash to start a great war.

The war that began in 1914 had its beginning from the attack which Austria-Hungary made on Serbia. No one has ever denied that hostilities so began. Accordingly, Austria-Hungary might be held guilty of beginning what brought the Great War, and upon her a large share of the blame must rest. A sound instinct, however, has made most people realize that Austria would never have dared to take this step without certainty of German assistance. It is known without any doubt that Germany did promise Austria full support in advance, her rulers explicitly stating that they realized a general war might follow, though they expected their opponents to yield. Actually, the greater conflict began when Germany declared war on Russia and on France: that she did so no one will ever deny. Immediate responsibility for the Great War should, then, without any doubt, be assigned to the German Empire.

The Sarajevo Murder Plot

By M. EDITH DURHAM

An English artist and anthropologist who is a leading exponent of Serbian war guilt

PROFESSOR SIDNEY B. FAY in the November, 1925, number of *CURRENT HISTORY* described the Black Hand plot which led to the World War. Let us trace some of the facts that led up to the Black Hand. The Archduke's murder was no isolated crime. It was the culmination of a policy steadily developed for generations. Popular report accused Kaiser Wilhelm of planning to set fire to Europe. We shall see that Serbia had already planned this before the Kaiser came to the throne. The motive force behind the Black Hand was the fierce desire to create Great Serbia at any cost. Behind this again was the age-long desire of the great mass of the Slavonic peoples that bestride Europe and Asia to thrust further southward and westward into Europe.

We now know more about the Black Hand than when Professor Sidney Fay wrote. Then its rules and by-laws were known only in the mutilated form published in *Tajna Prevratna Organizatzia* (the Secret Revolutionary Organization) in 1918 by the Serb Government, whose object was to try and convince foreigners that the Black Hand confined its revolutionary activities within Serbia and thereby invent an excuse for executing its leaders. All reference to the real work of the Black Hand was carefully excised from the published laws. The pretense that the society's purpose was revolution within Serbia is now proved to be false. Dr. Bogitchevitch has obtained from members of the Black Hand a complete list of its rules and published them in *Evolution* (July 15, 1926) and the *Kriegsschuldfrage* (September, 1926). The previously excised passages reveal the true purpose of the Black Hand:

(a) To organize revolutionary activity in all lands inhabited by Serbs.

(c) Beyond the frontiers of Serbia it fights all those who oppose this idea.

(d) It keeps up friendly relations with all States, peoples, organizations and private indi-

viduals who are friendly toward Serbia and the Serb element.

Article 7. The Central Committee of Belgrade includes besides the members of the Kingdom of Serbia, one delegate for each of the Serb lands abroad: (1) Bosnia, Herzegovina; (2), Montenegro; (3) Old Serbia and Macedonia; (4) Croatia, Slavonia and Syrmia; (5) the Voyvodina; (6), the coastlands. (i. e. Dalmatia).

Article 18. *The Central Committee in Belgrade is connected with the Serbian territorial committees abroad by means of authorized delegates who are usually members of the Central Committee, or, in exceptional cases, by means of a special delegate.*

Article 19. Liberty of action is allowed to the committees in the Serb lands abroad. *But the carrying out of more extensive revolutionary movements shall depend upon the approval of the Central Committee in Belgrade.*

That the revolutionary work in Austria was all centred in Belgrade is thus clear beyond doubt.

It has been urged that the Serbian Government was not aware of what went on. But at his trial Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevitch, who was the central figure of the Black Hand, explicitly declared that the Government was not only aware of its existence, but was kept well informed of its movements. He himself had told Milovanovitch (at that time Minister for Foreign Affairs) of its creation and purpose, and had received the reply: "My young friend, put your Black Hand at my disposal and you shall see what Milovanovitch will soon do for Serbia!"

That the Serbian Government could have been ignorant of the Black Hand's existence and work is impossible. The report of the Carnegie Endowment for National Peace, *The Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (page 169 of the English edition), published in 1913, not merely mentions the Black Hand, but thus denounces it: "The worst crimes were committed by this secret organization, known to all the world and under powerful protection. It was of distinct advantage for

the regular Government to have under its hand an irresponsible power which, like this, soon became all powerful and which could always be disowned if necessary. * * * Our records are full of depositions which throw light on the sinister activities of these legalized brigands." When this report was issued in 1913 the Serb Government was greatly displeased with it. To pretend ignorance of the Black Hand and its work when it had thus been publicly denounced is vain. It is to be hoped that "the depositions" referred to may now be investigated. They may afford valuable information as to the most criminal parties.

THE BLACK HAND IN BOSNIA

Our next question is: "Who was the Black Hand delegate in Bosnia?" Professor Seton Watson states in his book *Sarajevo* (London, 1926), that from certain Bosnian revolutionaries he has learned beyond doubt that the revolutionary work there was led and planned by Vladimir Gatchinovitch. Here we have the clue. The name of Vladimir Gatchinovitch appears as No. 217 in the list of members of the Black Hand published by the Serb Government in *Tajna Prevratna Organizatzia* and with it the interesting fact that he was introduced to the Black Hand by a certain Milosavljevitch, who, I have been informed, was connected with the Serb police. His sponsor doubtless saw to it that Gatchinovitch's journeys across the frontier as well as those of his friends should be made easy.

The youths with whom Professor Seton Watson spoke were obviously *not members of the Black Hand* (a very significant fact in judging the value of Seton Watson's conclusions) and were ignorant of the fact that their leader worked in connection with it at Belgrade. That Gatchinovitch was the Black Hand organizer for Bosnia-Herzegovina, I have been personally informed by a member of the Black Hand and also by a Bosnian revolutionary who was an intimate friend of his and who worked in conjunction with the Black Hand. In the Spring of 1909, after the annexation of Bosnia by Austria, Gatchinovitch went to Belgrade. He remained in Serbia until 1911, studying at Belgrade

under Skerlitch, a man who was an active propagandist of anti-Austrian revolutionary ideas. From Serbia Gatchinovitch went in 1911 to Vienna, where for about a year he organized revolutionary societies among the Serb students there. "In general it may be said that he was busy more with thoughts of national freedom and traveled between Vienna, Belgrade and Sarajevo rather than studied." In 1912 he returned to Belgrade, where *Piemont*, the organ of the Black Hand, published anonymously his revolting eulogy of the would-be murderer Zerajitch, who in 1910 at Sarajevo fired five revolver shots at the Landeschef Vareshanin, missed him and blew his own brains out with the sixth cartridge. This pamphlet was used freely by Belgrade as revolutionary propaganda, and hero worship of the criminal was started among the more morbid and bloodthirsty youths. It was about this time, so I was told by a member of the Black Hand, that Gatchinovitch joined the society.

In that same year (1912) Gatchinovitch returned to Sarajevo. "He did not say whence he came. Only went out at night. Concealed his journeys even from his intimate friends. * * * I well remember a meeting held at the *Prosveta*, at which were present Gatchinovitch, Danilo Ilitch (afterward a chief accomplice in the Archduke's murder); Milan Stojakovitch and Milan Vidakovitch (afterward Black Hand agent among the students in Paris)." The *Prosveta* was a society which called itself purely "cultural" and was therefore permitted by the Austrian Government. We are now shown it as the meeting place of a revolutionary gang. "A few days afterward Gatchinovitch swore in several of us separately. We were at once forever bound to a great mysterious existence. We felt it existed, but we did not know its whole scope." This makes it clear that the conspirators were well aware that they had put themselves under the command of something far more extensive than a local Bosnian committee. After this meetings were held nightly. At some of them Princip (the Archduke's murderer), then a mere lad, attended. In Gatchinovitch "he saw a god." Gatchinovitch having sworn in his tools, returned to Belgrade, presumably

to report progress and receive orders. "A short time afterward," says his biographer, "I received my first mission and had to go to Belgrade." What does this mean? He is first sworn on a Browning pistol and then is given a "mission" which takes him to Belgrade. It is idle to pretend, as some have done, that the Bosnian students worked without the knowledge or support of Belgrade.

Whence came the funds for all these journeys? How could Gatchinovitch, the son of a village priest—and the poverty of such men is notorious—afford to run backward and forward between Vienna, Belgrade and Sarajevo, pay university fees in Belgrade and Vienna and live? Whence came the funds if not from Belgrade? "When I received my first mission and went to Belgrade," his biographer informs us, "Princip went with me." The future murderer thus paid his first visit to Belgrade. The two had much talk with Gatchinovitch. Apparently he had been taking advice, for "the situation was now clear to him. * * * He thought we must work quickly. He expected that on our return we should do something. In Bosnia a bloody dough must be leavened. The greater the chaos the better. * * * Gatchinovitch gained a deep influence over Princip, which became deeper with time. * * * The last time I saw Gatchinovitch was in 1913. * * * He was preparing a second time to go to Switzerland among his Russians, he said. * * * The youths he had collected round him were ready to seize the bare knife. He could go with the happy thought that he left trustworthy substitutes." A significant remark follows: "*There was no revolutionary mass in Bosnia. Ripeness for revolution was only among individuals.* The youth was the one shining spot of this period in Bosnia." A proof of this is that when I asked a Bosnian doctor under whom I was nursing enteric in Montenegro in the Winter of 1912-13 how things were going in Bosnia, he replied that since Bosnia had a Constitution and the military régime of the occupation was over, Bosnia had nothing to complain of and that personally he much regretted that some people still persisted in agitating against Austria.

Princip and Ilitch both became members of the Black Hand when Gatchinovitch had finished their education. Their portraits as members appear with those of many others in a small book *Solunski Proces* (Belgrade, 1923). Princip is described as "member of the Union of Death (Black Hand) who killed Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 15-28, 1914, and was the origin of the World War," and Danilo Ilitch as a "member of the Union of Death (Black Hand). The inseparable comrade of Princip, condemned to death for the *attentat* on Franz Ferdinand."

ORGANIZING GENIUS

From the prominent member of the Black Hand previously mentioned in connection with the information above, Gatchinovitch and his friend obtained in the Summer of 1926 the following additional facts: Both in Bosnia and Croatia the revolutionaries were in constant touch with Belgrade. Dimitrijevitch, whom they fondly called "Apis," was a man of extraordinary organizing power. They all obeyed him. "If we had been crossing a bridge and he had told me to jump into the water I should have done so without hesitating. That is what he was like!" He was generous and completely unselfish. His great work began with the murder of King Alexander. He had never faltered since. To him a man's life was no more than a fowl's. All who stood in the way of Serbia's greatness must be removed. Yes. The Black Hand often inflicted the death penalty upon men believed to be spies or traitors. "Apis" had such complete control that if he had wished to stop the Archduke's murder even on its eve he could have done so. The "boys" would have obeyed. Of course the Government knew what went on. It subsidized a large number of students. Ljuba Jovanovitch as Minister of Education had the business of the foreign students' subsidies in his hands and knew all about them.

In Bosnia the Black Hand members were mostly Orthodox Serbs. The only Moslem was Mehmedbashitch, the one member of the murder gang who escaped. He fled into Montenegro. The Austrian police traced him to the frontier. He had

already been arrested as a suspicious character in Montenegro. But when the Austrian Government asked for his extradition he was allowed to escape, and the Montenegrins replied they could not find him. My informants rather reluctantly admitted that the Moslems as a whole took no part in the revolutionary work and the Catholics little in Bosnia. In Croatia, however, there were very many Catholic members of the Black Hand.

"I gathered in the course of the talk and also from other quarters that those who planned the Archduke's murder expected that it would be the signal for a general rising among the Slavs in Austria and that many soldiers would desert. Austria would have her hands full; and thus war, if it did ensue, would be an easy matter. Moreover, there was full and complete faith in Russia. 'Apis' was a great friend of Artamanov, the Russian military attaché in Belgrade. When 'Apis' was made head of the Intelligence Division of the General Staff his power was immense. To pretend that Pashitch and the others did not know all this was ludicrous. 'Apis' had a room in Belgrade where he would receive any students or emigrants."

One of the most conclusive pieces of proof of the complicity of the Serbian Government in the work of the Black Hand and the Sarajevo assassination is found in the scandalous relations existing between the late Serbian Premier, Pashitch, and Milan Ciganovitch, one of the leading confederates in the 1914 plot and the chief renegade in the Salonika trials. The facts are brought together by Colonel Simitch, a close friend of the late Colonel Dimitrijevitch, in an article in *Clarté* for May, 1925. Briefly these facts are as follows:

Tankositch, leader of a guerrilla band, supplied the murderers with firearms and bombs made at the Government arsenal at Kragujevatz. Milan Ciganovitch was Tankositch's agent. "The Austrian Government inquiry (1914) found that Ciganovitch was one of the most guilty parties. M. Pashitch, therefore, sent his agent into Albania." (This was where Ciganovitch "disappeared to" when the Serb Government was "unable to find him.") "On the eve of the Sarajevo murder Gavrilo Princip sent to Ciganovitch

for more money. He telegraphed: 'The marriage will take place on Sunday. Send funds.' Ciganovitch went to Major Lazitch, Secretary of the Union or Death (Black Hand), who gave him about a thousand dinars. This covered the final expenses of the affair."

A GOVERNMENT SINECURE

Ciganovitch, about whom the Belgrade police professed ignorance, went to Belgrade in 1908 from Bosnia and was given work in the railway administration. His employment on the railway was a Government sinecure. He worked only upon his return from each raid conducted by Tankositch's band, which he joined in 1908. Before and during the Balkan wars he was a *komit* in this guerrilla band. There he gained the confidence of his chief, and when the Union or Death (Black Hand) was formed in 1911 Tankositch invited him to join it. Pashitch urged him to join it in order that he might have an agent who could keep him aware of what was going on within this secret society. It was not by accident that Pashitch ordered the Prefect of Belgrade to declare that the name of Ciganovitch was unknown in the town, though he had lived there since 1908. Pashitch sent Ciganovitch into Albania, and at the same time replied to the Ballplatz [the Austrian Foreign Office] that he had issued a warrant for Ciganovitch's arrest, but that the latter could not be found. Simitch adds further:

In order to be ready for anything that happened, the Radical Government took other precautions. Between June 28 and July 28, 1914, they ordered the director of the State railways to erase the name of Ciganovitch from all the lists and registers of employes. One month after the declaration of war Ciganovitch returned from Albania and rejoined Tankositch's guerrilla band. During the course of the war in April, 1915, on the recommendation of Mihailo Rankovitch—member of Parliament and organizer of false evidence at the Salonika trial—Milan Ciganovitch was paid his salary as railway employe by the then Minister of Public Works, Drashkovitch. At the Salonika trial Ciganovitch was the chief witness against Dimitrijevitch and the Union or Death.

When his part was played and Dimitrijevitch, Vulovitch and Malobabitch had been executed, the Serb Government, at the head of which was the almost perpetual Prime Minister Pashitch,

sent Ciganovitch to America with a false passport under the name of Danilovitch, giving him a large sum of money for this pleasure trip. A year afterward he returned to Europe and at the end of the war received from the Government, as reward for his services, lands near Uskub, where he still lives. * * * The part played by him in the Salonika trial was of the highest importance. He was the man who knew even the smallest details about the preparation for it. He was the link between the accused members of the Black Hand and those who conspired against them.

The Serbian officers after they murdered King Alexander of Serbia in 1903 embarked on a new scheme. It formed, in fact, the program of the Radical Party as published originally in *Samouprava* on Jan. 8, 1881 (republished in *Politika* March 22, 1925). After the murder in 1903 the work of realizing the great Serbian program became intensive. The assassination plots began with that against King Nikola and became more and more frequent. But Russia, weakened by her Japanese adventure, could not then move. It was not until the Summer of 1913, as Pashitch has declared (*Nova Evropa*, XIII, May 11, 1926), that he received from Russia a formal promise of support if Austria attacked Serbia. Behind Russia was France and, it was hoped, England. The Serb Government therefore judged it safe in 1914 to neglect to take any steps to trace the murderers and to refuse to comply with the two most important points of the Austrian ultimatum.

Petar Plamenatz, then Minister for Foreign Affairs in Montenegro, has just thrown a curious light on the situation in the Summer of 1914. (*Nova Evropa*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 10 and 11, May 26, 1926) :

When we knew the contents of the Austrian ultimatum we told Belgrade that we were ready to share good or evil with our brethren whatever happened. Pashitch thanked us and assured us that he would share in a brotherly way with Montenegro all that Serbia had. His love for us lasted just seven days. So soon as Great Britain declared war on Germany and Austria and victory was foreseen on our side, Pashitch explained to us that he did not want our help, for he did not want to divide in two the Yugoslav lands of Austria-Hungary. From that moment he directed all his work to the destruction of Montenegro.

Perhaps the best proof of Pashitch's feeling of confidence in the crisis of 1914

is contained in his famous letter of July 31, 1914, to his chief of staff (*Kriegsschulfrage*, November, 1926), portions of which I quote:

The development of events in the Austro-Serbian dispute depends mainly upon Russia's attitude.

Russia has declared that she will make every effort first and foremost to arrive at a peaceful solution of the question at issue. Should the Austrian troops cross the Serbian frontier she would, she asserts, be compelled to intervene for the protection of Serbia.

The reports received from our Minister at St. Petersburg state that Russia is now negotiating and is prolonging the negotiations in order to gain time for the mobilization and concentration of her army. When her mobilization is finished she will declare war on Austria. * * *

In my opinion, and as far as I can judge the political situation, the European war can only be averted by very big sacrifices on the part of Austria; but there is no probability that Austria will withdraw and agree to a compromise.

Germany, who at first stood by Austria (as long as she still believed that Russia would not intervene), has begun to show hesitancy and has turned to Russia with a statement that a peaceful way out should be sought, as she does not wish for war. * * *

France stands firmly by Russia and is preparing measures for mobilization. She is waiting for Germany. As soon as the latter country announces mobilization, France too will mobilize.

England, which at the beginning was hesitant and more on the side of those which wished to maintain peace, has of her own free will informed our Minister that our answer was satisfactory and that she is astonished that it was declined by Austria. She has further declared that if any one Great Power should intervene then all the Powers will interfere. She has mobilized her fleet.

PASHITCH'S PART

Pashitch, we see, had not only decided for war, but had also decided exactly what he would get out of it. It appears, however, that he went through some anxious days while Great Britain was making up her mind. That he was then pleased with the situation appears from a speech he made in the Serbian Parliament in August, 1914, shortly after the outbreak of the war, in which he declared (as reported in *Tribuna* No. 1771) in reply to critics: "Never in history has there been a better outlook for the Serbian people than has

arisen since the war began." He had worked all his life for the destruction of Austria-Hungary, and now the goal was in sight.

During the war a mass of documentary evidence on Serbia's work in Austria was seized by the Austrian Army when it occupied Belgrade. Much appears in the *Anklageschrift gegen Wenzel Klofatz und Rudolf Giunio wegen Verbrechens*. Klofatz and Giunio were arrested for high treason in September, 1914. A postcard from a Serb in Belgrade—Milo Pavlovitch—found at Klofatz's house, led to the search of Pavlovitch's house. A mass of papers showed him to be a centre of revolutionary work in Bosnia; that he worked in connection with Russia and the Czechs and also with Pashitch, as search in Pashitch's house and the State archives proved. A very few extracts from these deeply interesting papers are all we can find space for. Some two thousand papers in all were found. Pavlovitch had fled, but his wife and servant were in the house and replied very freely to questions. The wife, Mathilde, was not a Serb. She made no mystery of the fact that her husband was deeply engaged in the work of a spy, but said she did not know if the funds were provided by the State or the *Narodna Odbrana*. She said (Document 375, p. 8) that her husband was very intimate with the then Crown Prince Alexander, visiting him at least two or three times a week. A notebook of Pavlovitch records the Prince as saying to him at the outbreak of the Balkan war: "The only real enemy is above. Not down South. * * * Hatred of Turkey is a historical memory. Hatred of Austria is a volcano which will pour out a fiery rain." According to Mathilde (375, p. 13) Pavlovitch was with the Prince when the news of the murder came from Sarajevo. The Prince turned to Pavlovitch and said: "Milo! You certainly had a hand in this!" Correspondence with Prince Paul was also found.

Pavlovitch had begun to work in Bosnia as early as 1896, and then had as paid agents a priest, Tripkovitch, and a whole family called Kashikovitch. (O. 824 and O. 612.) The former says he has some Government correspondence of high value and will send it on the condition that it is to be

laid before "the highest quarters" in St. Petersburg. Demands for money and receipts for it are very numerous. A very large number of persons sent information written under the postage stamps on postcards. Picture postcards were neatly split, written on and rejoined. That, as I was told in 1906, much went verbally is evident. E. G. Kashikovitch recommends (Aug. 11, 1908) to Pavlovitch "the students who bring this letter." He promises much news and wants more money. The Kashikovitch family is seen to be in Serb pay for years. Many young people are recruited for spy and revolutionary work. Bosnian editors are subsidized (O. 699). Pavlovitch is asked to obtain 400 or 500 kronen from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for an editor, Radulovitch, who duly sends a receipt for it in December, 1909, asks for 140 dinars and gives military information. Pavlovitch distributed revolutionary papers and helped to found others. He carried on an active correspondence with Pototchnjak in Agram, who asked for money and promised revolutionary work.

SUBSIDIZED STUDENTS

Most interesting are the lists of students subsidized by Belgrade. One of these contains twenty-three names and includes that of Veljko Chubrilovitch, one of those concerned in the Archduke's murder. The subsidized students were distributed through Vienna, Gratz, Agram, Neustadt and other centres, and an extensive system of espionage and propaganda was thus operated. On another list of those who were subsidized we find Bogdan Zerajitch, who tried to murder Vareshanin. Spaso Pritza and George Orlitch are noted as having been "here and learned to make bombs." They were from Lika. The name of B. Gatchinovitch also appears. That this was Vladimir Gatchinovitch is possible, as the letter V in Cyrillic is B.

Highly important was Pavlovitch's work at the time of the Agram and Friedjung trials. It is clear that, though at the time the Serbs denounced Nastitch as a spy and impostor, they knew that in fact his statements and documents were true. Great efforts were made by means of the Kashikovitch family to steal these papers. Nastitch's movements were watched and re-

ported on. But he was too clever. Extra pay was asked for this work (O. 621 and O. 653). We see, too, that the Austrians really had arrested the guilty parties in 1909, for Document O. 611 says: "If the Agram affair succeeds and the *Best of the Best of us* are imprisoned, they may as well slaughter and hang the rest of us, for we shall have no more need for life. They have already searched the house of Katitch and the barber Petrovitch." At the trial Pavlovitch gave false evidence, declaring that he had only helped the Bosnian students out of charity and shared his bread with them, though, as we have seen, he used them as paid spies. In a letter to his wife, who knew all about his works, he boasts of this evidence (O. 986).

That Pavlovitch did not work independently of the Serbian Government is proved by the documents found at Pashitch's house and in the State archives. Document 579 shows that the *Narodna Odbrana* spied for the Government. Many of the papers are similar to those found in Pavlovitch's house. At Pashitch's house the lists of students show that he and Pavlovitch cooperated. N. Kashikovitch on one occasion receives 1,440 dinars; Veljko Chubrilovitch 423 dinars, and so on. Pashitch's list is fuller than Pavlovitch's. And Pashitch has a special list of "serviceable people" who are paid. Document O. 991 shows that one Shola has 10,460 dinars for "protection of Serb interests" and Cherovitch has 1,046 dinars for a journey to Vienna "to obtain information." Much of this money passed through the Serbian Legation in Vienna. Some notes found at Pashitch's residence describe a secret society, *Srbska Bratcha*, in 1908 (996) of which the Crown Prince is patron, and of which Ljuba Jovanovitch Chupa (one of the founders of the Black Hand), Jasha Nenadovitch (one of the chief organizers of the plot to kill King Nikola), Captain Oprkitch (later a member of the Black Hand) and Nastitch were all members. At the end of the list a note states: "Nastitch has turned traitor both in Cetinje and Sarajevo, because the direction of the bombs has been changed." The bombs in fact were made for use in Bosnia. It was thought inadvisable then to use them there, and they were sent to Cetinje.

Nastitch was disgusted and gave detailed evidence at the trial of the criminals at Cetinje. Petar Plamenatz, in the article already quoted, states that the bombs came from Serbia with Pashitch's knowledge and gives some interesting details. As he defended the criminals at their trial, he is very well informed in the matter.

It is clear that Pashitch and his Government were fully aware of the anti-Austrian work and subsidized it. A great number of papers had been burned in the stove at Pavlovitch's house, and it was admitted that he had removed others. We can only suppose these were yet more incriminating than those which remained. It is impossible to believe that, when the murder of the Archduke took place, the Serbian Government, if it had wished, could not have at once traced the guilty parties.

A report recently circulated through the press that at last Pashitch had denied publicly that he gave information about the preparations for the Archduke's murder, as described by Ljuba Jovanovitch. This, however, is not true. Briefly (as reported in *Nova Europa*, XIII, No. 9, May, 1926), Pashitch at a meeting of the committee of the Radical Party on April 25, 1926, stated that it was not true that he had told a Cabinet council about the *attentat* that had been prepared. Foreign correspondents had asked him if he knew the Archduke would be killed, and he had replied that he did not.

It is quite obvious that, even if he knew all about the preparations, he could not know if they would succeed. Many assassination plots fail. His reply to the journalists was therefore as valueless as it was clever and evasive. On the other hand, Ljuba Jovanovitch in his reply said that he had never said that Pashitch had informed a Cabinet council. *It was at a private conversation the information was given.* He maintained that he had told the truth and offered to produce documentary evidence of which he said he had enough at home. Uzunovitch, the Prime Minister, then intervened and begged him not to produce the evidence "lest things might be said that ought not to be said." Thus Pashitch denied a charge which had not been made and Jovanovitch was asked not to produce proof of his statements.

The Problem of the Former German Colonies

By KATHARINE J. GALLAGHER

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POINT Five of the late President Wilson's Fourteen Points stated that the distribution of the territories acquired from Germany and Turkey should be undertaken with especial attention to the desires and needs of the populations involved. In the division of German colonies, however, the interests and wishes of the subject people were not considered. It was only Mr. Wilson's opposition that prevented a frank distribution of spoils among the victors. To meet Mr. Wilson's views, General Smuts evolved the outline of the Mandate System, which finally took form as Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Nine of the fourteen mandates formed were allocated to Great Britain. The others were entrusted to France, Japan and Belgium. The virtue of the Mandate System, as opposed to annexation, depends upon the clarity with which the distinction between a mandate and a colony is defined, and the fidelity with which it is enforced.

In theory the Mandatory State is not a sovereign, nor even a protector. It is merely a tutor. It possesses only temporary authority delegated to it by the Council of the League of Nations. Theoretically, this authority is revocable. Actually, according to the opinion of members of the Permanent Mandates Commission (who oversee the mandates in behalf of the Council), such a revocation is almost unthinkable. The only reason for the termination of a mandate would be flagrant maladministration, or the desire of the mandatory to withdraw. In regard to the former case, it is questionable how high a degree of maladministration would be necessary to persuade the Council (which

tends toward political mindedness) that the terms of the contract had been violated.

From the outset the Permanent Mandates Commission has stressed the restricted nature of the mandate. On a number of occasions, however, it has been clear that the mandatories were failing to emphasize the fact that they were merely the trustees of the League of Nations. The ownership of public property in the mandate brings out very sharply this matter of sovereignty. In the British mandates such property is often listed as property of the "Crown." This has been excused on the plea that it is more convenient to file it under this heading, but it contains an idea in conflict with the mandate principle. The difficulty in keeping the distinct legal status of the mandate absolutely clear is increased when a union for administrative purposes is permitted between the mandate and some neighboring colonial territory. The Mandates Commission cannot prevent this if it is shown that the two are being kept legally separate, and that the joint administration is for the economic advantage of the natives themselves. Questions of the apportionment of revenues become especially complex in such cases. Each mandate is entitled to the exclusive use of its own revenues, but it is difficult to tell just what proportion of railway incomes, for instance, should be applied to the mandate when the railways have been consolidated or attached to those of a neighboring colony.

Germany shows a particular disapproval of these administrative unions. Early in the present year the German Government sent a note to the Council of the League on the subject of the administrative incorporation of the western part of old German East Africa (now held as a Belgian mandate under the name of Ruanda Urundi) with the Belgian Congo. Both the British share of old East Africa, now

* Professor Gallagher has recently returned from a sojourn of fifteen months in Paris and Geneva, where she was afforded exceptional opportunities to complete a thorough investigation of the operation of the mandate system under the League of Nations.

called Tanganyika, and the Belgian portion, Ruanda Urundi, seem to be under special observation at Berlin. Belgium was inclined to disregard the German protest, but the Mandates Commission demanded specific answers to the German charges. Belgium justified her action by forceful arguments showing that the union was beneficial to the natives. Obviously Belgium could not be forbidden to do what had been permitted in other instances. Such a merging of services, however, complicates the labors of the Mandates Commission on the subject of sovereignty.

The Council of the League is not so meticulous in its interpretation of national limitations within the mandates as the commission. Several times the Council has intimated that the commission was going beyond its constitutional duties. Sir Austen Chamberlain was irritated in 1925 by recommendations which criticized, though very slightly, certain tendencies in the British policy in Palestine. A more serious difference of opinion between the commission and the Council occurred in September, 1926. The commission had long been dissatisfied with its method of getting at grievances within the mandates, and had proposed direct investigations upon the spot in special cases rather than the indirect method now pursued of receiving the bulk of its information through the mandatory. This suggestion had never found warm support from the Council. But the chief difficulty in September was a new questionnaire to the mandatories for their guidance in making out their annual reports in regard to the B and C mandates. These mandates happen to be the former German colonies. The questions in this list covered almost every range of activity, and struck squarely at this issue of sovereignty. Sir Austen Chamberlain especially opposed this questionnaire. The commission was upheld, temporarily at least, and the questionnaire stands, but the individual mandatories may be able to circumvent this attempt at supervision should it become embarrassing.

The most definite assertion of the nationalistic view of the mandates was embodied in speeches made not long ago by Premier Baldwin and Mr. Amery, British Secretary of State for the Colonies. The

reviving interest of Germany in former East Africa did not escape notice in Great Britain. Mr. Amery, at a dinner in London on June 11, 1926, declared that the British tenure in Tanganyika was a permanent one. He stated that Britain held from the League, but that she did so in her own right under the Treaty of Versailles. With an interpretation of this sort the real value of the trustee idea is likely to go glimmering.

One may conclude that in theory and intention the securing of a mandate does not convey sovereignty, but that in practice the mandatories tend more and more toward a nationalistic emphasis in interpreting their position. The revival of Germany has given impetus to this nationalistic tendency, which is one of emphasis, however, rather than of overt acts.

MANDATE ADMINISTRATIONS COMPARED

The chief business of the Mandates Commission is to protect the natives against exploitation by the mandatory power. In B and C mandates this protection takes the form of an annual investigation into all fields specified in Article 22. The questions of greatest interest, as a rule, gather about the subjects of public health, labor, the liquor traffic and military recruiting, although these are not necessarily the most important subjects investigated.

Germany maintained an admirable public health system in her colonies. She possessed a surplus population, even having a surplus of scientists, doctors and nurses for colonial needs. Great advance was made in the study of sleeping sickness and leprosy, and the work of general sanitation was admirable. This is not the case at present in all the mandates. Belgium and France are lacking in the population necessary for colonies. France, in particular, is short of medical personnel and supplies. In the French Cameroons and Togoland the situation has often reached a critical point. In 1925 the Mandates Commission was forced to urge upon France a more vigorous policy in this direction. The death rate among the laborers concentrated for the construction of the Central railway was appalling. Only one doctor was provided by the Government for these works. This was due to the shortage of

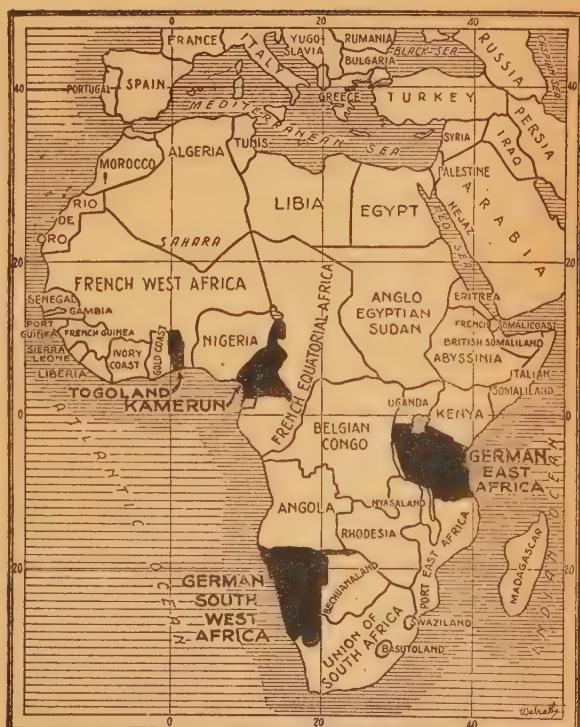
French doctors. In British Cameroons there were only three doctors at this time in the territory. In Southwest Africa, a mandate of the Union of South Africa, the health conditions in the diamond mines have been at times almost unbelievable. Western Samoa, however, a mandate of New Zealand, shows an almost ideal health condition. The policy of Japan also is altogether admirable in her islands in the Pacific. The only criticism, in fact, that can be made against Japan's administration is the inequality of her trade policy, but when it is remembered that it was the British Dominions, and not Japan, that defeated the open door for the C mandates, one cannot hold Japan to a strict accountability on this score.

Labor conditions were deplorable under the German administration. There has been a marked improvement in this during the mandate régime, and very careful attention is given to it. The effective co-operation of the International Labor Bureau with the Mandates Commission is gradually bringing labor problems nearer to an acceptable solution.

In the field of education much is yet to be done. The emphasis of the commission is upon industrial and agricultural education. In many mandates too much is left to the religious missions and too little is undertaken by the Government. This is especially true in some of the French territories. South Africa shows a tendency to devote almost her full attention to the white population in the mandate, and expends no more than 1 per cent. of the revenue upon native education. The agent of the Union was frank in stating that education of the natives was a waste of time and money. This may or may not be true, but it is not admissible under the terms of the mandate system. One of the most difficult phases is the training of native teachers. Education, like public health, involves the problem of a surplus population, and it is again in the Japanese mandates that educational conditions are at their best.

The liquor traffic is prohibited in C mandates, but it offers a problem in B territories. The reports for the Cameroons and Togoland under both French and British mandate show a marked increase in the importation of liquor in 1926. This is also true of Southwest Africa. The commission is deeply concerned over this increase and is devoting special attention to it, demanding careful statistics and explanations for this rising importation.

The military situation in the French Cameroons and Togoland is more notorious than serious at the present moment. The German and Swedish press aroused general interest in this subject in 1924. At that time the question was important. The special concessions granted to France in the peace treaty permitted her to use native soldiers from these districts in a general war. Units of militia from Togoland and the Cameroons were, therefore, organized. They were, however, placed under the same command as those of the neighboring French colonies, which was the cause of the complaints. On Jan. 1, 1925,



Map showing the former German colonies in Africa

these were separated from the French militia and put into a class by themselves. Since that date the militia of Togoland has been disbanded in times of peace. The Cameroons militia, though organized as a standing force, is now employed in local service only, and is not called outside of the boundaries of the mandate.

From German sources numerous and exaggerated criticisms are launched against conditions in the areas under mandate, but it seems on the whole that the supervision of the Mandates Commission has been generally advantageous to the natives. It is to be hoped that, whatever may be the final destiny of these territories, the population will not be deprived of the wise and conservative supervision of the Mandates Commission.

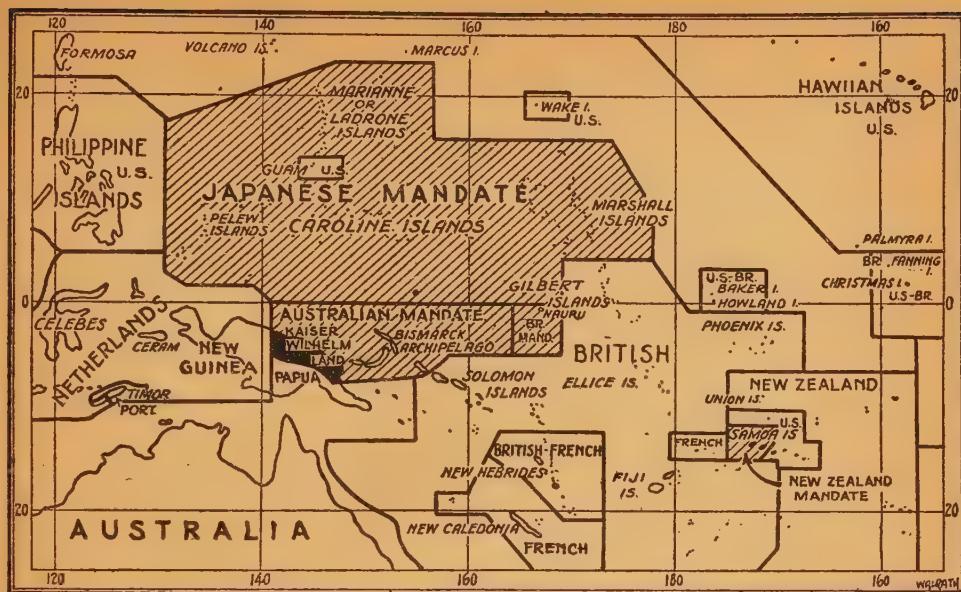
GERMAN POLICY REGARDING MANDATES

The German colonial party was never numerically great, but it was and remains strong in personality and influence. The surrender of the German colonies was met in 1919 with the charge of foul play, which was based upon the claim that the Treaty of Versailles in this, as in other matters, did not conform to pre-armistice promises. In spite of the loss of the colonies, many of the colonial institutions which provided Germany with a trained force of colonial workers—medical, agricultural, educational and administrative—continued to function after 1919 as before. The scientific study of tropical diseases especially has continued unabated. In spite of financial difficulties the German Government was able to issue a loan to the far-famed Mannesmann Brothers in Morocco. All this makes it clear that Germany has not given up hope of re-establishing her interests outside of her own borders. The two most influential colonial societies are the *Kolonial Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft* [Colonial Labor Association of the Reich], which is popularly known as the *Korag*, and an inter-party *Kolonial Association* in the Reichstag. The *Korag* is a federation of some fifty colonial societies and claims a very large membership. It has 250 branches in all parts of Germany and maintains a lively propaganda. During the dark fi-

nancial days of the early twenties there was naturally little interest in the question of colonies, but with the revival of prosperity the issue has again become vital, and the negotiations at Locarno and the consequent entrance of Germany into the League have reawakened a zeal for colonies.

The *Korag*, through its monthly journal, has not permitted the subject to die, and the views of colonial experts like Dr. Seitz, Dr. Heinrich Schnee (former Governor of German East Africa), Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, and Herr Paul Loebe, President of the Reichstag, have aided in formulating a definite German policy toward the mandate system. This policy is, in general, the recognition of the mandate system as a temporary expedient for the administration of the colonies until such time as Germany herself shall be ready to reassume the responsibility. The Germans profess to believe that the implications of Versailles uphold them in their contention that the system was intended to be temporary. Several conditions unite to make them feel that the time has now come for the re-entry of Germany into the colonial field. Among these are: (1) The increasing prosperity, which brings an increasing demand for markets and raw materials; (2) the Dawes plan, which necessitates steady and increasing sales in order to secure payments; and (3) the entrance in the League, which reinstates Germany within the ranks of first-class powers.

The subject of colonies has arisen from time to time within the Reichstag and in the press, but it was not until the combination of circumstances above listed made the matter an important one that the issue became insistent. Even yet the German Government has not officially declared itself, except as being specially interested in preventing the incorporation of Tanganyika and Ruanda Urundi into the territories of their present mandatories. The appearance, however, of arguments in favor of the revival of German claims in such newspapers as the *Tägliche Rundschau*—a journal which reflects Herr Stresemann's personal views—indicates the official interest in the question. The chief activity,



Map showing the former German colonies in the Pacific Ocean and the mandated areas into which they were divided

however, has been and remains unofficial, and in some respects the growing colonial enthusiasm may be even a trifle embarrassing to the Government leaders.

THE HAMBURG CONGRESS

From July 31 to Aug. 4, 1926, the combined colonial societies of Germany held a congress in Hamburg. It was intended that the discussions of these meetings should be academic in character, as the Government did not wish to commit itself in any way before Germany's entrance into the League. But the statements of Mr. Amery in London and certain interpellations in the House of Commons had inflamed public opinion. These interpellations were occasioned in part by the appearance of a book by Dr. Schnee entitled *German Colonial Policy, Past and Future*, and the speeches of both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Amery may have connection with this volume. By August German feelings were running high.

There were eight points upon the agenda for the colonial week discussions. The most important of these were the demand for the cessation of administrative unions of the former German colonies with the

colonies of their present mandatories and the recommendation of the retention of the mandate system until Germany should claim her own. Statements were framed inviting discussion upon the principle that the public lands in each mandate were the property of the mandate itself. Protests were entered in the agenda against the treatment of natives, and the right was claimed for the natives to appeal directly to the Mandates Commission without the intermediary of the mandatory.

There seemed to be three main parties in the congress: (1) The extremists, who demanded the return of the colonies intact; (2) those who felt that negotiations could be carried through with France and England for some special colony or mandate, or, at least, for economic opportunities in the mandates, and (3) those who hoped for the opening up of new colonial opportunities. Among these latter the pamphlet of Dr. Schacht, entitled *The New Colonial Policy*, was very influential. Dr. Schacht advocated the revival of chartered companies (some modern form of the London or Virginia Company of hallowed memory), which, with the aid of American and British capital, should undertake the

exploitation of colonial resources. He suggested the empty spaces of Canada or Australia as desirable sites for the experiment. His main contention, however, was in regard to Germany's need of colonies. "The fight for raw materials," he declared, "plays the most important part in world politics, an even greater rôle than before the war. The problem of surplus population, though not now acute, will soon become the spectre it formerly was. The only solution of these problems is the acquisition of colonies." Without the continuous commerce which only colonies can give he did not see how Germany was to secure the favorable balance of trade which alone could make certain her contributions under the Dawes agreement.

In the Reichstag itself the political parties of the Right and Centre are favorable to the colonial movement, but not pledged to it. The Government group will not even push it until word is given from headquarters. Even the Socialists support it, though the Communists, under Bolshevik influence, are opposed. In view of the general opinion, Herr Stresemann would be singularly unresponsive to national interests if he failed to push colonial claims. He has proceeded with great tact. The issue of the occupation of the Rhineland naturally takes precedence, and Herr

Stresemann evidently hopes to make some definite advances by friendly conversations. There can be no doubt that colonial possibilities were sounded at Thoiry. In the meantime the withdrawal of Señor Palacios, the Spanish member of the Mandates Commission, has given place for a German, and Germany is now in a position to exercise some influence in the management of her former colonies.

The colonial question should be considered in a large way. Italy is sadly in need of fields of expansion. Italy and Germany are confronted with the same necessities. It is a little unfortunate that Italy's ambitions appear to lie outside of the mandate system, and a mere adjustment of mandates will not solve the whole question. The sudden capitulation of Turkey on the subject of Mosul, and her unexpected application at the last session of the League of Nations for admission into the League are probably not unrelated to the question of Italy's colonial ambitions. A new distribution of colonial territory would have to include Italy and Spain, as well as Germany. It is to be doubted whether France and Great Britain are yet large-visioned enough to realize that this might well be thoroughly considered before it becomes a dangerous necessity.



Turkey Taking Her Place Among Modern Nations

By A. RUSTEM BEY

Former Turkish Ambassador to the United States

THE treaty of Lausanne has granted a new lease of life to Turkey. This extraordinary country was dubbed the "Sick Man of Europe" by Alexander I of Russia and its political extinction, anticipated for a century and a half by the imperialist West, had practically become an accomplished fact as the result of its defeat in the Great War. Turkey, however, has been restored to a place among the living nations, thanks to its successful resistance to the application of the Treaty of Sèvres sentencing it to partition. Indeed, the triumphant termination of its "War of Liberation," has been the means of obtaining for Turkey far more favorable conditions of existence than those prevailing in her midst before the world crisis. True, she has lost her remaining non-Turkish provinces, being reduced from the status of an empire to that of a strictly national State, contained within its ethnic boundaries. But this was rather a blessing in disguise. Chronic insurrection on the part of the subdued peoples operated as a festering sore in her body politic, becoming an increasing source of weakness and degradation. On the other hand, Turkey has been entirely liberated from the humiliating and stifling régime of the capitulations of which those restricting her sovereignty in the economic field were particularly obnoxious and could not be justified on any grounds whatsoever.

Thus, Turkey has resumed her career on terms inviting her to greater efforts than in the past and investing her with greater responsibilities toward herself and the civilized world. To give a description of the use she has made so far of her extended opportunities in the fields of political, social and economic reform, in other words, to give information concerning the resurrected State, as Turkey may be called, so as to allow the reader to form an opin-

ion as to its chances of survival in the international struggle for life, such is the object of the present article.

Turkey's existence, in spite of the formal consecration by the Treaty of Lausanne of her political and territorial integrity, does not rest on an assured international basis, as is the case with the countries of the West. No less than in the past, she is exposed to the danger of attack at the hands of the imperialist nations, Italy lying visibly, almost ostentatiously, in wait for an opportunity to sweep on Western Anatolia and retain in her claws this choice morsel of Turkish territory.

The fact is that no international decisions purporting to guarantee the independent existence of a backward and struggling State have by themselves any value in practice, however formal, however solemn they may be in theory. For such decisions to be effective they must be endorsed by the public conscience. The essential condition for the enjoyment by such a backward nation of the protection of collective humanity or, to be more accurate, of the Western section thereof—the dominant and dominating section—against imperialist enterprise (this being, as it happens, an exclusively Western form of activity), is for that nation to give positive proofs of its capacity, actual or potential, to move in the paths of progress, when it is considered to be an international asset whose development on independent lines is in the superior interest of the world at large. Automatically, as it were, a backward nation fulfilling this condition is admitted into the privileged circle of the Western communities, which are by definition the civilized communities—Japan being an instance in point—the principal bond uniting these communities being that they are mutually committed to the defense



MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA

of their national rights. The protection provided by such membership is not absolute, but it is very generally effective, as was shown by the formidable reaction provoked in the ranks of civilized humanity by Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality in 1914.

Turkey's security as a State, her immunity from external attack, is thus contingent on the sincere adoption by her of the principles of Western civilization, the only one which has any practical value, and the rapid fructification of her decisions in this sense. The following analysis will show to what extent Turkey has realized the meaning of this momentous fact.

KEMAL'S INITIATIVE

The vital necessity for the recasting of the national organization in Western mold was nowhere more thoroughly real-

ized than in the country itself. This basic task has been already completed—a wonderful achievement considering that only two years have elapsed since the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies and the full restoration of Turkey to her national rights. The achievement is due to the initiative of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, already the *deus ex machina* of Turkey's War of Liberation, in the rôle to which he owes his official title of *Ghazi* (The Victorious), and whose personal freedom from prejudice, comprehensiveness of vision and iron determination have been the means of giving scope and setting the pace to the work of reform which was unthinkable only a few years ago. He is acting on the principle, the truth of which no one can contest, that being hard pressed by the rapidly moving and mercilessly operating events of the period, his country cannot proceed by leisurely stages on the road to reform; that, whatever Turkey has to do to come into line with the progressive West, whose civilization she must adopt or perish, must be achieved by rapid, bold and long strides.

Expressed by the watchword "Democratization and Secularization," the reformatory activities of Turkey have culminated in the suppression of her 600-year-old monarchical form of government on the one hand, and the complete separation of Church and State on the other. Every department of State, every organ of public activity, has been thoroughly remodeled on the basis of one or the other of the two principles just mentioned.

These ultra-radical transformations in the political structure of the State have been accompanied by equally far-reaching changes in the social organization of the country. Among the latter, special mention should be made of the formal abolition of polygamy, which was already all but complete in practice, the emancipation of woman and the substitution of the hat for the national headgear. What prodigious revolutions these changes repre-

sent, the latter two no less than the first, only those can realize who are acquainted with the special prejudices of the East.

Paradoxically enough, none of these innovations, whether in the politico-religious or the social sphere, brought about though they were in radical opposition to long standing tradition and custom, has provoked the portentous reactions predicted by those who claimed to know Turkey best. The Kurd insurrection was a purely nationalist affair, taking what was only locally effective cover behind religion. It burnt itself out in a strictly limited area. On the other hand, the attempt on the life of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the President of the fledgling republic, who personifies and symbolizes its new policies, was inspired by the blind partisanship of one of the surviving leaders of Union and Progress, who cherished the foolish and purely selfish ambition of restoring to power this terribly compromised and very generally execrated party, this in the interest of the latter and not of the country. The conspiracy was confined to five or six individuals and did not represent in any sense a national movement. It proceeded from the spirit of cliquism and not from the spirit of patriotism.

It may be safely said that the nation at large has settled down definitely to the new régime. It no doubt continues to have individual opponents, but none of them can boast a following, not even a secret one. This means that internal tranquillity is insured in the country, the very rigorous penalties with which the criminal ventures of the conspirators were visited being calculated to act as a decisive deterrent to the very few who might feel inclined to follow suit. In a word, the Government is absolute master of the situation.

Although a thorough overhauling has taken place of the institutions of the country and brand new machinery has been substituted for the old, it may be asked, What is the practical value of these transformations? Are these reforms suited to the temperament and degree of development, cultural and political, of the Turkish people? Can the people digest such a sudden and formidable dose of them?

As regards the abolition of the Sultanate, there is no doubt that the best form

of government is, in principle, democracy no less for Eastern than for Western peoples. The theory that Eastern countries are radically incapable of making progress under a constitutional régime is entirely false. The question is, however, whether in its present stage of development the Turkish people are in a position to benefit by a Constitution which is not only democratic but which exceeds in liberalism all the existing Constitutions. Manifestly the answer is in the negative. But the consequences are not what one might have logically expected.

The fact is that Mustapha Kemal Pasha is the *de facto* dictator of the country, not, however, in violation of the Constitution



Turkish girls dressed in Western clothes since the discarding of the veil

which is in full operation, but by virtue of the voluntary abdication of the nation. He is the "good tyrant" of Montesquieu's classic, *L'Esprit des Lois*, plus the elect of his compatriots. Such is the confidence of the people in his judgment and sincerity that they have practically given him power to do anything he pleases. He it is who on all important occasions inspires the decisions of the Grand National Assembly and the Cabinet, of both of which, be it noted, he is the *ex-officio* President at the same time as he is the President of the republic and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. In the last analysis, his influence proceeds from the transcendent superiority of his personality, his official rôle providing him with the opportunities of asserting the ascendancy of his genius and will in the affairs of State without resorting to arbitrary pressure. It is all perfectly regular, perfectly constitutional—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, were no less dictators in the same sense—"constitutional dictators," as they may be called—during the World War. The peace crisis which Turkey is going through, a situation calling as imperiously for unity of purpose and action as any war crisis, adds another and decisive justification for the operation of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's dictatorship to the reasons furnished by the political immaturity of the Turkish people.

To this immaturity Turkey can confess without shame. Subjected as the people have been for so many centuries to a crude despotism from which they were released only with the advent of the present régime, their political education could not be more advanced than it is. Extremely intelligent as the Turkish race is, it can hope to make good its deficiencies in this as well as in the general field of knowledge in a comparatively short space of time. The operation of what are much more than the forms of constitutional government under the present régime is an excellent school for the people, as indeed it was intended to be. The particular value of this school is that it teaches the game of constitutional politics in a form which, since the suppression of the opposition group of "Progressive Democrats," is exempt from party warfare and its inevitably demoralizing influences.

So much for popular sovereignty in Tur-

key. It exists and it employs for the expression of its will a powerful and comprehensive machinery whose wheels keep constantly revolving, but it is content to take its cue from "above." It is popular sovereignty, not in a state of "suspended animation," as under Abdul Hamid, but what may be called "self-denying animation." In this form it is admirably suited to the needs of the Turkish people.

NEW WESTERN INFLUENCES

We now come to the question of the practical value of the reforms initiated under the régime of "Democratization and Secularization." What gives its value to any kind of reform is not so much the reform itself, but the spirit in which it is accepted by the people destined to benefit by it and the spirit in which it is carried out. The question then is, whether the Turkish people are capable of throwing off their Oriental mentality and adopting the mentality of the West. The struggle between Eastern and Western tendencies has been going on in Turkey for more than half a century, and the Western has been gaining ground steadily year by year. The increasing diffusion of the French language among the educated classes to the point that today it is practically the second mother tongue of every school-taught Turkish man and woman has hastened the process considerably. The World War and the Anatolian war and the tragic warnings they have conveyed to high and low in the unforgettable shape of intense moral and material suffering have given such an impetus to Westernization that it is no exaggeration to say that the educated classes have divested themselves of their native modes of thought and have learned to think in terms of Western ideology. Indeed, it is touching to see how even the peasant of Anatolia, that essentially lovable and estimable, but so far criminally neglected, creature, is yearning for enlightenment. This desire the present Government, so much better inspired than its predecessors in this as in other respects, is exerting itself to the utmost to satisfy, having, in fact, placed the general amelioration of the condition of the peasantry among its leading purposes.

Precisely where it might have been ex-



Five stages in the evolution of woman's dress in Turkey from the style of the fifteenth to the twentieth century, when the flapper makes her appearance

pected that the regeneration of Turkey would meet with the greatest difficulties, the ground was thus found to be cleared of its principal obstacle, to the surprise of all, no doubt, except the Ghazi, whose instinct has served him as a no less admirable guide than his judgment in estimating the national reactions to his policy.

In the field of practical achievement, that is, the results expressed in terms of visible, tangible progress, of the basic reforms initiated along the lines of "Secularization and Democratization," time was evidently necessary for reform to produce its full effects. Two generations at least must have passed before the formal abolition of polygamy and the emancipation of woman, two social innovations which were all but complete in practice but which lacked the life-giving sanction of the law, have permitted the *hanum* to attain fully her rôle in society and become the potent source of inspiration of which free and respected woman is the centre in the West. So also will it be with the legislative measures establishing education on a much broader and a rational basis.

None the less, the immediate advantages resulting from the remodeling, generally

speaking, of the statute book, are by no means negligible. Education and, it should be added, justice have been brought within much closer and easier reach of the poor and those who are far removed from the administrative centres, two benefits of inestimable value to the country. Women are rendering themselves extremely useful in charitable and other public institutions as well as in several departments of State which find in them ready and competent substitutes for the men made scarce by thirteen years of practically uninterrupted hostilities.

This brings us to the subject of the Administration whose vices in the past have rendered it proverbial. It would be difficult to deny that much remains to be criticized in this sphere. It is the darkest spot in the Turkish picture which naturally could not be expected to be free from blemishes here and there. But this refers to the Administration proper, the civil service. In the Departments of Justice, Education, and especially National Defense, the improvement is remarkable. Today the Turkish Army can compare favorably, in proportion to its size, with the best Western armies.

In the field of economic activity Turkey is going through a severe crisis, the reasons for which are partly external, partly internal. Principal among the former are the lamentable condition of the world market and what seems to be a conspiracy on the part of Western capitalists to force Turkey back into her former system of contracts by refusing to enter into any transactions with her that will not insure a usurious profit, with perhaps a political advantage thrown in. Turkey is thus obliged to confine her program of economic development to such enterprises as she can undertake with her own very limited financial resources. The internal reasons contributing to the continuation of the crisis, which originated during the World War and was aggravated during the War of Liberation, may all be summed up in one fact—the excessive self-reliance of the Turkish people. This defect has been developed since the Turkish success in the War of Liberation. Though truly prodigious considering the circumstances of the case, the people forget that this success was insured by a set of qualities totally different from those required for the victories of peace.

Under the influence of the exaggerated notion thus conceived by the nation of its capacities, which are great and varied, but, owing to insufficient opportunities of instruction in the past, potential rather than actual, the posts confided to foreign specialists are regrettably few, and secondary at that. The result is that much of what has been undertaken and which under foreign direction might have been pushed through without a hitch, has been bungled and had to be done all over again—a wanton waste of time, energy and money. Nevertheless, the reorganization of agriculture, commerce and industry along scientific lines is advancing steadily, if somewhat slowly, and may be expected to bring an alleviation to the present crisis in the not too distant future.

It was predicted that the transference to Greece (under the Turco-Greek convention for the exchange of populations) of the native Greek element of the provinces would act very detrimentally to the economic interests of the country. Nothing of the sort has happened. The incoming

Turks are little, if at all, inferior to the outgoing Greeks in economic capacity, besides which the Armenians and Jews have promptly stepped in and filled any remaining gaps.

TREATMENT OF NON-TURKS

A matter of special interest to the American public is that of the relations between the Turkish element and the Christian communities—the minorities, to use the consecrated expression. Opponents of the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne in the United States have made such charges as that Christian women are at present immured in Turkish harems, that the non-Turkish elements are under rigid persecution, fanaticism being the incentive, and that atrocities are even practiced under cover of official connivance. These accusations may be dismissed in their entirety. If they were true, the other signatories of the Lausanne covenant guaranteeing the rights of the minorities, Greece in particular being directly interested, would not have ceased to protest officially, while the private organizations hostile to Turkey, of which not a few are still in operation, would have kept up a formidable agitation against her. No such protest or agitation is on record. These accusations, which have found no echo outside the United States, are the effect of the prejudice created in the American mind by the uncurbed propaganda of the professional Turcophobes who had the field all to themselves. It is largely the fault of Turkey herself if this prejudice persists, in so far as she has neglected to counteract the manoeuvres of her enemies.

The truth lies in the exactly opposite direction. The Turkish people whose rigorous treatment of the subject Christian communities before and during the war was in the nature of a reaction to their subversive enterprises prosecuted by the most savage methods and a retaliation in kind—a chapter of contemporary history which has yet to be written in a spirit free from anti-Turkish prejudice—has completely forgotten its grievances. Although it would not have been unnatural if the Turks had continued to vent their feelings of vengeance on the Christian communities,

it is remarkable that they have reverted to a friendly attitude toward those communities. This is manifested especially in the cordial private relations they entertain with Greeks, Armenians and other non-Turks in everyday life, and is another proof of the incapacity of the Turkish people, so often made evident in the past, to cherish feelings of resentment even against those nations of which it has had most to complain.

Turkey fully realizes, under the invaluable leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the vital necessity for her to reorganize herself on Western lines and provide herself in a limited space of time—twenty or at the outside thirty years—with the minimum of cultural and material equipment that will permit her to rank among the progressive nations. Straining every nerve to attain this object, she has resolutely, earnestly and passionately launched on a program of wholesale and radical reforms of which the greater number have already been carried through, some translating themselves already into practical forms of achievement. She has thus fulfilled the essential condition tacitly laid down for the admission of the backward and struggling nations into the privileged circle of Western communities and the enjoyment of their protection, the value of which cannot be overestimated in the case of a naturally weak nation. Whether Turkey will be given the benefit of these advantages within the limits of the terms granted to other nations in the same position is a moot question. She has to fight prejudices which do not stand in the way of her neighbors and may cause the West to stiffen its conditions in her case.

Be that as it may, Turkey is forging ahead, looking neither right nor left, now making straight for her goal, now blundering through toward it, and gaining every day in health and strength. Carefully refraining from all kinds of external adventure, she has, on the contrary, strengthened her international position by



The Turkey that is passing away under the influence of Western commerce—a quayside porter in Constantinople doing the work of an up-to-date motor truck, or at least a horse and wagon

the conclusion of a series of pacts of amity and good neighborhood. In a word, she is fulfilling conscientiously her share of obligations arising out of her situation as a backward nation struggling for the recovery of its legitimate place in the sun. In any case, what republican Turkey has achieved in the short space of two years with such a formidable mass of putrid matter accumulated during the centuries of misrule to be got out of the way is prodigious. Being simply human, she could not have done more. The rest—so be it said to avoid appearing in the light of a patriot actuated by too sanguine expectations—the rest is on the lap of the gods.

Fallacies of Racial Inferiority

By FRANZ BOAS

Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University

MUCH has been said in recent years regarding the effect of intermixture between racial types, the deterioration of our population owing to the influx of undesirable elements, and the effect of the low birth rate among the well-to-do as compared to the high birth rate among the poor. A clear judgment in regard to these elements can be obtained only by a more detailed study of the composition of ancient and modern populations.

The opinion is quite erroneous that the intermixture of types occurring at present in the United States is a unique phenomenon which has never found a parallel in ancient history. It is necessary only to consider the history of European countries to see that similar and perhaps even more extended mixtures have occurred in early times. An example of this kind is found in the history of Spain, at present one of the most isolated parts of Europe. In earliest times the peninsula was inhabited by Iberians, a people of uncertain origin but probably surviving in the present Basques. At a very early time Phoenicians established themselves on the coasts of the Iberian peninsula. Later the centre of Phoenician influence shifted to Carthage in North Africa. Then followed numerous invasions of Celtic people from Gaul, still later the Roman colonization of the whole country. During the period of the great migrations Teutonic tribes swept over Spain and established themselves there permanently. Then followed the great invasion of the Moors from North Africa, probably a repetition of many earlier migrations of a similar kind. Until the late Middle Ages we find Spain the place of conflux of people of diverse origin, and the present population is a mixture of all these numerous elements which, through long continued inbreeding, has become more or less unified.

Conditions are quite similar in Italy. In the earliest times known to us, we find

populations speaking very diverse languages and, probably in part at least, differing in type. In prehistoric times there were undoubtedly immigrations into Italy from the east coast of the Adriatic and in historic times we have the extended colonization of Southern Italy by Greeks. Celtic tribes crossed the Alps and settled in Northern Italy, and their migrations reached as far south as Rome. During the period of migrations Teutonic tribes swept over the whole peninsula, and there is ample evidence of African influence in Sicily. Besides this the establishment of the Roman Empire and the political importance of the metropolis brought large numbers of people from all over Europe into central Italy, with the result that by descent the population of Rome must necessarily be exceedingly mixed.

Even in the isolated British Isles similar phenomena may be observed. Investigation of prehistoric remains has shown that at a very early time the oldest known inhabitants of Great Britain were swamped by a population which, in all probability, had its origin in Central Europe. We know that the aboriginal population was swept aside by Celtic invaders, who later were followed by the Romans and then by the German and Scandinavian tribes, who finally Teutonized the islands.

What is true of these outlying districts is even more true of the centre of Europe over which tribes of the most diverse origin have swept from time to time. For this reason, mixtures of all European types have occurred. In the course of time these have crystallized into fairly distinctive local types.

If we should want to argue from these European conditions, we might claim that isolation brings about cultural decay. If we should choose to lay particular stress on the biological descent of a population, the history of Spain, at least, might be so interpreted.

The actual conditions in the United

States are, in many respects, analogous to those which occurred during the periods of migration in Europe, the only difference being that the numbers involved are very much larger and that the whole process is more rapid because the social barriers which separate the migrating people from the natives are not as strong and enduring as they used to be.

EFFECTS OF INTERMARRIAGE

On the other hand, it ought to be recognized that no matter how rigid the laws that prevent intermarriage between various groups of a population they cannot ultimately prevent a gradual intermixture. The most striking example of this is presented by the castes of India. A physical examination of the people of Eastern India shows clearly that notwithstanding the rigid religious prohibition of marriage outside of the caste, the lowest one resembles the pre-Aryan aborigines of India and that the higher we go in the scale of castes the nearer we approach the West Asiatic type.

Although the data here enumerated are suggestive, they are not quite conclusive, for the reason that we cannot trace in detail the descent of the various populations. We do not know in how far native or foreign family lines may have become extinct and how much of the various contributing elements survive at the present time. Therefore the problem has to be approached by another method.

There are three important conditions that influence the constitution of a population: heredity, environmental influences, and selection. In an old, stable population, heredity will bring it about that the general composition of each generation will be about the same. In a new population of heterogeneous origin, like that of the United States, the conditions are somewhat different, because here, owing to the intermarriages among distinctive types, the general composition will change generation after generation, until finally a certain degree of stability has been attained. This condition is not by any means characteristic of the United States alone. It is parallel to the development of the large European cities and, to an equal extent also, of the large manufacturing centres which

draw upon a wide area. It is clearly expressed in the fact that in anatomical features the city population differs somewhat from the rural population of the surrounding country. When extreme forms prevail in a rural community, cities located in the midst of them present human forms that are similar to the average of a more widely extended district and, therefore, not so extreme. This has been observed, for instance, in cities like Palermo and Milan in Italy, and in Mannheim in Germany.

In order to understand this situation we have to consider for a moment the way in which a stable population is formed. Since the time when individual land owning, or, at least, a definite assignment of the peasant to the land which he tills became established in Europe, the land owning or land cultivating population attained an unusual degree of stability. In a great many cases the younger sons emigrated, the younger daughters were married out into new communities, but the land-owning class recruited itself essentially from the locality in question. In such a community there must have been a considerable degree of inbreeding.

The significance of this process will become clear if we realize the number of ancestors which any one individual would have, provided there were no inbreeding at all. Each person has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, so that ten generations back he should have one thousand and twenty-four, and twenty generations back considerably over one million ancestors. Twenty generations represent, roughly speaking, a period of about seven hundred years, possibly less. In a land-owning community it would, therefore, mean that each individual in the particular locality would have had over a million ancestors in the same locality seven hundred years ago. This is obviously impossible, because the number of inhabitants of such an area may never have exceeded a few hundred. A large amount of repetition must have occurred in the ancestral lines because all the families of such a locality are inter-related.

Statistical investigations in regard to this question show that, under these conditions, we find in the sixth generation back, in which we should expect sixty-four ances-

tors, if no inbreeding had occurred, only forty-two, and that the reduction is still more considerable in earlier generations, for which, however, it is difficult to obtain actual statistical data. Reduction of the number of ancestors in populations of this type has been observed in European villages, among the high nobility of Europe, among the Tennessee mountaineers, and among the Bastaards, an African people of Hottentot and Dutch descent.

The effect of such inbreeding in a local community is that all the families are more or less interrelated and that, therefore, the various family lines are very much alike. If we should select in such a community any individual family, it would give us a fair cross-section of the general population. This is due to the general similarity of all the different lines.

We do not know exactly to what extent the various lines may become alike in the course of time, but animal experimentation shows that a certain degree of individuality will remain even with the most intensive inbreeding. Setting aside pathological conditions which might arise in communities of this type and that would affect all the family lines, there will be a certain degree of differentiation between the constituent lines. Incidentally, it may be remarked that these conditions prevail in many primitive tribes that prescribe or prefer cousin marriages. Deterioration is evidently not necessarily brought about by such inbreeding for the peasant population of Europe, and the primitive tribes in question are, on the whole, healthy stock.

Conditions are quite different in less stable populations. It is quite obvious that if we should select any single family in the city of New York it would not give us an adequate insight into the character of the whole population. We might happen to select a North European, South European, Chinese or negro family. Obviously the difference between the family lines is very great, and in this sense the population is heterogeneous in regard to the characteristics of its component genealogical elements.

The same is true every time when we consider a large area, even in a stable rural population. In the villages of the Alps, for example, every

single village community seems to be fairly uniform in regard to its various lines of descent. The diversity becomes very considerable as soon as a number of villages located in different valleys are thrown together. Each represents a particular inbred community, and the isolated lines which develop here are not uniform.

These remarks show that if we want to understand the composition of populations it is necessary to investigate the genealogical lines composing them. It is not sufficient to be familiar with the characteristics of individuals alone. They must be taken each in his family setting.

Not many studies have been made in regard to this problem, but it has been found that in every case when a population is analyzed, so that the characteristics of the constituent family lines can be determined, a great diversity of forms is found to such an extent that the extreme family lines are absolutely distinct. They are so different that it would be utterly impossible to mistake an individual who belongs to one extreme form of the family lines for another one that belongs to the other extreme. This observation is important because it shows that the differences determined by heredity occurring in a single population are much greater than the differences occurring in different racial groups—at least as long as we consider the branches of a single race. When we compare the inhabitants of England as a whole with the inhabitants of Italy as a whole, the similarity in regard to many traits is so great that a considerable number of individuals might belong to either one of these two types. The contrasts between racial groups in Europe are less than the contrasts which occur in family lines in the same population.

WHAT IS RACIAL HEREDITY?

If we bear this condition clearly in mind, it appears that it is quite impossible to speak of racial heredity in groups which are so much alike as the various divisions of the European race. We may speak of racial heredity when we are dealing with traits which are common to every individual of a race, and thus set it off definitely from every individual in another race. We may say, for instance, that

pigmentation and hair-form of the negro are determined by racial heredity because they belong to all the negroes, but we may not say that a certain size of the brain of the negro is racially determined as against the brain size of Europeans, for the reason that a very large number of individuals are found in both races which have the same brain size. In a strict sense, heredity has a meaning only in genealogical lines, not in a group which is thrown together on account of geographical contiguity or on account of anatomical similarity.

From this point of view all attempts to designate one of the European groups, or for that matter any of the other racial groups, as inferior by heredity are inadmissible because they fail to recognize that we have to compare the genealogical lines in each population and that numerous parallel genealogical lines are found in practically all the European populations that have ever been investigated.

The similarity of population may also be expressed by counting the number of individuals who, by examination of their bodily features, cannot be assigned with certainty to any one of the groups examined. Superficial similarities result from habitual use of the muscles of the body and of the face. These must not be mistaken for hereditary traits. When only the latter are considered there will be found a fairly large number of individuals in every European population that might belong to the population of another part of the Continent as well.

So far we have discussed only the hereditary characteristics of each racial group. It is also necessary to consider whether racial types are stable under all conditions or whether modifications may occur.

Modifications in the composition of a population, without changes in the genealogical lines, may be brought about by selection. Many observations show that mortality, birth rate and tendency to migrate, the most important selective influences, affect various social strata in a different manner. We know, for instance, that the well-to-do have, ordinarily, a low birth rate and a low mortality. Among the poor the reverse is true. We find that the tendency to migrate affects different social

classes in different ways. The causes that bring about migration among professionals, mercantile groups, skilled and unskilled laborers and farmers are so different that obviously the rate of migration in these classes can never be the same. If it happens that the social strata are at the same time different in type, a shift in the composition of the population will develop. If one group has a greater excess of births over deaths than another one, then the group with higher excess rate will be present in greater numbers in the growing population as time goes on. Similar effects may result when there is decided selective mating.

Dr. Melville J. Herskovits of Columbia University has shown that in our negro city population there is a marked tendency of dark men to marry lighter women. As a consequence the daughters of the present generation will be darker than their mothers and, if they marry husbands darker than themselves, their children will be still darker. If this process continues for any length of time without any influx of white blood, there will result a constant darkening of our colored population. On the other hand, Indian half-blood girls are much more liable to marry white men than Indian men are liable to marry white women. The effect of this process is a gradual absorption of the Indian population among the whites and a constantly increasing amount of white blood in the Indian population.

It is only when the two sexes cross at random without any preference one way or another that a true mixed population develops. These conditions prevail to a great extent in large portions of Central and South America.

SELECTION AND PHYSIQUE

It is quite a different question whether selective influences may have a direct relation to bodily form. If one particular type in a population is subject to pathological conditions that result in a higher death rate, such shifts might occur. It is, for instance, claimed that malaria is more dangerous for slightly pigmented individuals than it is for those with dark pigmentation. If this is true, then the effect of a long continued residence in malarial coun-

tries would be a gradual darkening of the population. On the whole, we have no very satisfactory evidences of a close interrelation between bodily type and mortality or birth rate of members of the same racial group.

It is true that the statistics collected by life insurance companies show a certain interrelation between weight of the body and mortality, but it is doubtful whether these have a lasting effect upon the constitution of the population. Such effects can occur only if the traits that are related to a higher mortality are hereditary. If the higher death rate is due to non-hereditary conditions, then the same distribution might be expected again generation after generation, because the same pathological types will be produced over and over again.

However this may be, the only effect of selection can be the development of the preponderance of certain genealogical types over others. It does not bring about any change in the genealogical lines.

Quite different is the effect of environment upon the type. The form of every animal and every plant is more or less subject to environmental influences. An absolute, ideal form unaffected by environment does not exist. A plant growing on high mountains will have short stems; raised in lower altitudes the stems will be elongated; the degree of hairiness of plants depends upon the character of the soil. The form of the leaves of aquatic plants is one for those growing under water, another for those growing in the air. Among animals the degree of plasticity is probably less, but it exists. Certain invertebrates living either in brackish water or in salt water change their forms accordingly. The body form of wild animals, for instance of lions, differs from that of animals born in captivity. Since higher mammals exhibit modifications of anatomical form under diverse conditions we may infer that human types are also dependent upon environmental influences. The only question to be answered is to what extent such influences may occur.

Extensive investigations on weight and stature show quite definitely that these features are dependent upon environment, particularly upon hygienic and economic

conditions. Children of the same racial descent brought up carefully and well nourished are much taller than individuals of the same group growing up under unfavorable conditions. The starvation period coincident with and following the war has reduced the average stature in Central Europe, while with improved conditions it is increasing again. It seems, however, that other forms of the body are also subject to environmental influences. My own observations, made years ago, indicate a change of head form among descendants of our immigrants. Although these results have been much doubted, other similar investigations have corroborated these results. Dr. Guthe showed similar differences between immigrants and their descendants in Boston. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution has shown a decrease in the size of the face among old Americans, that is to say, among families that have resided in America for at least three generations. I have demonstrated similar changes in Porto Rico, and studies carried on during 1926 among Sicilians indicate the same results which were obtained at an earlier time.

INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT

The actual process involved in these changes can be investigated only by animal experimentation. A study of rats made quite recently by Eugen Fischer in Freiburg, Germany, shows that feeding has a decided influence upon the proportions of the skull. Hans Przibram has shown that the length of the tail of rats depends upon the temperature in which they are raised. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that environment may have an important influence upon bodily form, although we cannot yet say to what extent the form is subject to it.

When we speak about various races present in a population and their values we are generally more interested in the functioning of the body than in bodily form. We are particularly confronted with the question whether there is any difference in mental reaction between various groups.

In order to answer this question satisfactorily we have to consider for a moment the forms of physiological and mental functioning of the body. Our pulse-beat

varies considerably under different conditions; after a night's rest, before rising, the pulse will be slow; after a meal and after vigorous activity and even after walking or standing it will rise, so that there is a considerable degree of individual variability. The same is true of other physiological and psychological functions. The rapidity of our reactions to outer impressions varies with the conditions of our body. When fatigued we react in one way, when fresh in another way. When our attention is concentrated upon the outer stimulus we react quickly and when our attention is withdrawn the stimulus may even go unnoticed. The more complex the physiological or mental process that we are studying, the greater will also be its variability in the same individual, according to the state of his body at different times.

Owing to these conditions we find that the functioning of the organism is not determined in the same way as anatomical form which has definite characteristic values for each genealogical line and in that line for each individual—values which remain the same at all times in adult life until the changes due to senility set in. The functioning depends also upon the momentary state of the individual.

If an individual living at one time in a large city in our latitude and occupied in a sedentary occupation is moved to the plateaus of the Andes and is required to perform physical work, he lives under such fundamentally different conditions that the functioning of his body will also exhibit material modifications.

Conversely, it happens very often that individuals of entirely different build are brought together in the same geographical and social environment, performing the same tasks day after day. This has the result that a certain kind of uniformity of function will develop among groups that may be quite distinct in anatomical type. This case may well be illustrated by the development of the use of language. The forms of the mouth, tongue, palate and nose of individuals living in the same community are exceedingly variable. Nevertheless the pronunciation of the individual is not determined by the form of the mouth, but by the environment in which he lives. All individuals in the same

locality have practically the same type of pronunciation, provided the form of the mouth does not vary inordinately and provided individual, abnormal habits have not been established early in life.

We recognize, therefore, that the functions of the body, physiological as well as mental, are determined to a much greater extent by environment than is the case with the anatomical form of the body. The wide range of variety in mental reaction, which is found in every single individual, makes it plausible that with a change of geographical and social environment a thorough modification of function, particularly of mental functioning, will occur.

FALLACIOUS INTELLIGENCE TESTS

If this fact is not borne in mind, the most absurd conclusions may be obtained. As an example I might mention Professor Brigham's investigation of Italian immigrants by means of so-called intelligence tests. He found that the performance of Italian immigrants who came here twenty years ago was much superior to that of immigrants who came here recently. He concluded from this observation that the hereditary quality of the immigrant has been constantly going down during the last twenty years. The most superficial investigation of these individuals shows the baseness of such an assertion. Many Italian families that have lived here for twenty years are thoroughly assimilated, certainly the younger individuals are assimilated in language and to a great extent also in habits. Recent immigrants, on the other hand, find themselves in a strange environment to which they are not accustomed, and, therefore, tests that are essentially based on the experiences of American city life must be strange to them. There is little doubt that the observations made by Dr. Brigham simply express the gradual process of assimilation of immigrants and have nothing whatever to do with what might be called hereditary intelligence.

I believe all our best psychologists recognize clearly that there is no proof that the intelligence tests give us an actual insight into the biologically determined functioning of the mind. They indicate the ability of the individual to perform certain actions which are ordinarily recognized as

making for success in our city life. How far the reaction of the individual may be modified by individual experience and how far it may be determined by his organic structure cannot be determined by tests of this type. There is no doubt that both elements enter into the result, and in extreme cases, among decidedly abnormal individuals, the organic basis is readily recognized, but among normal individuals a separation of the social and of the organic element cannot be made by the results of mental testing.

The question becomes still more involved when the attempt is made to arrange racial or other groups on the basis of such tests. It is true that the negro from Louisiana did very poorly in mental tests to which he was subjected by white experimenters. The question, however, arises in how far the tests were adjusted to his experience and in how far he was influenced by the strange environment, by his unwillingness to be compelled by a white overseer and by many other causes. If, on the other hand, the city negro reacted infinitely better, we may ascribe this with equal justice to his being adjusted to the conditions under which the test was given, to his superior intellectuality, or to a combination of both.

These conclusions show very clearly that the claims made in regard to the intellectual capacity and mental characteristics of various groups of Europeans are of more than doubtful validity. It is true enough that each national group and each social subdivision in a nation have their own peculiar behavior, but this does not prove that the behavior is organically

determined by their bodily build. We may claim that social influences are much more important in determining behavior than organic structure. We have shown that anatomically analogous family lines occur in all European nations. It follows from this that lines that function in analogous ways also occur in all the different nations. We may observe the effect of social environment in those numerous cases in which a family is divided and the branches become members of various nationalities. In this case they also develop different mental habits.

The lack of clarity in regard to this whole subject is based essentially upon the failure to distinguish between genealogical or family lines and racial groups. Although in the former we do find material differences between various strains, anatomically as well as functionally, it is impossible to generalize and to claim the same kind of differences between nationalities; for in every single case the national groups contain a great many similar or even identical strains.

On this ground we may dismiss as entirely unfounded the arguments based upon an assumption of inferior ability of various European and Asiatic groups. There is no reason to suppose that from the present migration from all parts of Europe and from many parts of Asia there will result an inferior mixed population. All historical, biological and sociological considerations point to the conclusion that we have at present merely a repetition on a large scale of the phenomena of mixture from which have sprung the present European nations.



Italy's Effort to Italianize South Tyrol

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SINCE the rearrangement by the Treaty of St. Germain of the boundary between Italy and Austria, repeated complaints against the Italian rule have been made by the 200,000 to 250,000 German-speaking people in the ceded area, which is shown by the shaded portion in the accompanying map. These protests have been echoed not only in Germany, but also in England, and recently at the Interparliamentary Union meeting in Ottawa in 1925. They were formally declared untrue by Mussolini in January, 1926. This article presents the results of a first-hand investigation, conducted in the Summer of 1926, in order to ascertain the validity of these protests.

Italy's language policy—Entering the area from the north, I was confronted by what appeared to be a very Italian country. Station names are in the Italian language, railway officials are in Italian uniform, all signs on store fronts are Italian, and everywhere Italian military are evident. But I soon found that in the hotels and restaurants the bills of fare were in Italian and German. The waitress coming to the table usually asked, "*Was darf's sein?*" (What is your order?) This was quite a surprise to me, for in what seemed outwardly an Italian community I did not expect to be addressed in German. In the hotel the clerk spoke to me in excellent German; the tobacco store clerk also addressed me in German, as did the clerk in a photo shop, before I had said a word to them in either language. In fact, this was a common incident, though in all these places the signs over the doors were in Italian. Inquiry explained this apparent anomaly.

By law of the Italian Government, all store employees who are in any sort of position in which they come into contact with the public must be able to speak Italian, and 30 per cent. of the employees of restaurants and hotels must be from pre-war Italy. I found that the sentiments of the

shopkeepers frequently belied their own Italian signs. In one restaurant, while talking with the owner, I pointed to a picture of Victor Emmanuel of Italy, which hung above the buffet. "That?" he said. "Oh, we have to put that up." Another time, further up in the mountains, at a wayside inn from the top of which the Tricolore was gaily waving, I opened conversation with the host, and when we began to discuss political questions, I asked, pointing to the flag, how long it had been there. His reply, after first looking around him to ascertain that no one was listening, was, "That has been up since this morning. It's a new order from down below." (He pointed toward Rome.) "Do you think I want it up? We have to, under penalty for failure to do so."

Italy has required all store advertisements, in fact all public signs, to be in Italian (decree of Oct. 28, 1923, No. 14718). If the owner cared to put up such a sign in German, he could do so, but the German sign had to come after the Italian.

The outward Italian appearance has been further emphasized by the fact that all the postal regulations are in Italian. All telegrams sent within the kingdom must be in Italian. Letters must be addressed in Italian. All the rules and orders regarding the postal system are issued in Italian. In some places, such as Bolzano, the Government has put up German signs in the postoffice, in addition to the Italian notices. But the clerks of the office have difficulty in speaking German, and I found that at the windows of the postoffice, those customers who speak only German have difficulty in securing courteous treatment. The situation on the railroads is similar. Here the formerly German names of the towns and villages have been changed to Italian, either translation of the old, or entirely different names. The station officials pretend in many cases not to speak German, as I found by personal experience. Late one eve-

ning, before boarding a train at a small station south of Bolzano, I asked in German for a third-class ticket, having for the moment forgotten the Italian word for third. The clerk looked at me and asked me in Italian for the class. I was still ignorant, so reverted to English. This failing to bring the desired result, I tried French. Still no recognition. In desperation I held up three fingers. "Ah!" he said, and gave me my ticket. I later heard him telling this story to a friend, pointing to me and making a huge joke of it. Of course he had understood me from the beginning. To me also it was a good joke, but it is easy to understand that for a German-speaking population which has been saying *dritter* or *zweiter* for generations, this forced change of habit is very disagreeable.

In order to carry through this language policy the Government has imported a large body of Southern Italians. The result has been that a corresponding number of German speaking employes have been discharged. In the smaller villages, where German-speaking officials have not yet been replaced by Italians, the problem of translating the postal regulations, telegrams, official papers, and so forth, has become a serious one. One priest with whom I talked had been obliged to give practically his whole time for two years to this service. All claims for compensation for Austrian army requisitions, which according to the Treaty of St. Germain were to be paid by Rome, must be translated into Italian before they will be honored.

The character of the newspapers appears to a casual visitor as proof that the population is Italian. For by one means or another the Government has closed down all the German newspapers of any influence. The only German papers published are either issued by the Italians or are merely literary sheets. The Fascisti publish their own *Alpenzeitung* in German, and this is so cleverly written that it gives the impression that it comes from a German editor. It is subscribed to, however, by few except restaurants and hotels, who may otherwise be deprived of their licenses. A law of January, 1925, placed all papers under strict censorship, and prohibited all news

of the school system of Italy and governmental changes made in Tyrol.

Italianizing the school—The charges of interference in the cultural life and personal affairs of the people centre mainly about the administration of the schools, the Church and the courts. In August, 1921, the Italian Government provided (law No. 1627) that German schools should be maintained for children of German parents. This seemed a just provision, but complaints against the administration of the law arose at once, for the local officials began to force children of German parents to attend Italian schools, under the justification that the families had originally been Italian. No choice was left to the parents. This was done chiefly in the southern area, where there is a preponderance of Italians. In the North, eleven almost solidly German districts were added to one Italian prefecture in which the German population now became the minority, and this made it possible to argue that the proportion of Germans was too small to warrant special schools. Thus, by denying the right of parents to declare their own nationality, and by a system of "gerrymandering," the legal requirement for German schools was rendered nugatory.

The new law of Oct. 1, 1923, frankly aimed at the establishing of a uniform school system throughout all Italy, without regard to minority wishes or language differences. Article I of this law gives its essence:

Beginning with the school year 1923-24, instruction in the first grade of all Volkschulen will be carried on in Italian. In each succeeding year the same change will be made in the next higher grade, so that in a period of years equal to the number of grades in the schools, instruction in Italian will have been instituted. Simultaneously with the substitution of Italian for the existing language of instruction, provision will be made for the teaching of the secondary language.

Many teachers have been "imported" from pre-war Italy, who know no German, and in the Fall of 1925 alone sixty-nine teachers were discharged because they did not know enough Italian.

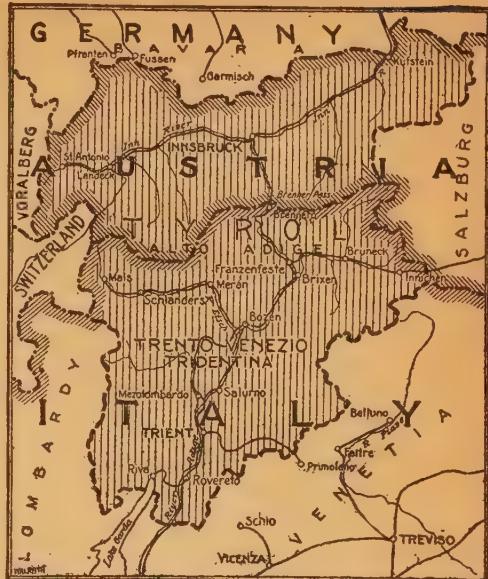
Since early in 1924 the same provisions restricting the use of German have been applied to the kindergartens and children's day nurseries. Typical of the

method employed is the case of a playroom arranged by a group of parents in the village of Innichen for the care of their children during the day. There was in the same village a Government kindergarten in which only Italian was spoken. This was attended by five Italian children. The private German school (for children under school age and therefore not under the rules of the law of October, 1923) was closed without writ, on the day of its opening, by the Carabinieri, who drove the children out and took the elderly lady in charge of it to prison, where she was held for four days. None of this got into the papers of South Tyrol because of the law forbidding the printing of any news of the school system.

The higher schools, the *gymnasien*, are similarly controlled. Examinations for the completion of the *gymnasien* are given in the Italian city of Trent, south of the German area. Those candidates who have had eight years of Italian may write in German; those who have had only four years must write in Italian. The number of candidates who come up for the examination for the South Tyrol area is naturally becoming small.

The curriculum and ceremonies used in the schools are directed toward inculcating in the children an Italian nationalism. This appears particularly in the teaching of history and songs. The reaction of the children is interesting. Meeting a group of school children coming down the street in one town, I asked them what they were learning. "Nothing." "Do you really mean that you don't learn anything? What do you do in school all day?" They answered: "Well, we talk about wonderful Italy. We sing Italian songs, but we don't understand them. We learn to salute in real Roman style." "What is that?" I asked. They raised their arms out to full length in front of them. "What does that mean?" They looked cautiously around, and then one whispered: "That means, 'the dirt is that high in Italy.' "

Degermanizing the Church — The Italianization of church services has been no less determined, though it has been effected extra-legally through control of the clergy. In about twenty cases German pastors who were not amenable to the new policy



Map of the Tyrol showing the sections that are under Austrian and Italian rule, respectively

were replaced by imported Italian clergy in the face of vigorous protests from their congregations. Some of these new priests display great zeal in the cause, and the political flavor of the services has caused many to discontinue church attendance. In a village near Bolzano a new Italian priest ordered that henceforth all services and all prayers would be held only in Italian. The same day the Lord's Prayer was repeated in the church. Many of the congregation knew no Italian; others had learned to pray in German—all these continued their customary practice and prayed in German. The infuriated priest turned about in the pulpit and shouted to his congregation: "The next person whom I hear praying in German will be thrown out of the church!" In another village the newly appointed Italian Mayor appeared before the priest in his church and ordered that from that date on, whenever he entered the church, service should be interrupted so that children in the congregation might turn and salute him in Roman style.

Administration of Justice — Arrests are made on the slightest pretext, if possible within the letter of some law; if not, then without. Houses are frequently searched

under the pretense of hunting munitions, and anything else that may be found is taken along. When a group of people are arrested they are handcuffed in pairs and a long-chain is drawn so as to connect the pairs. This is done even in petty cases in which the alleged culprits are released again in a few hours.

More important, however, is the manner in which cases are tried in the courts. The procedure of the courts is in Italian only. This is by decree of Oct. 15, 1925. Not only must the judges be able to speak Italian, but they must do so *at all times*, under penalty of suspension. The Judge, the counsel for the State and the counsel for the defense may not address the defendant in German. If he does not understand Italian, the question must be asked through an interpreter. Further, the jury must be made up of persons who speak Italian. This jury requirement results often in such a situation as the one in Bruneck not so very long ago, when only seventeen out of 120 veniremen could meet the language test. The German-speaking judges are gradually being weeded out; today in Bolzano hardly a fourth, in all Tyrol hardly a tenth of the number of judges are still German or Austrian; this in a territory which is practically solidly German in language.

Abolishing German Names—Every effort is being made to abolish the use of German names. The use of the word *Tyrol* is forbidden. The area formerly known as *Tyrol* is now called *Alto Adige*. In art shops one finds etchings and woodcuts which had had the title "View in *Tyrol*," or some such general reference to the scene, now with a blotch of black ink or a piece of paper covering the forbidden word *Tyrol*. Baedeker's *Tyrol* is sold with the cover reversed.

On Jan. 10, 1926, a decree was issued for the "re-Italianization" of family names. The substance of this law is found in Article I:

The families of the province of Trent who have a name which was originally Italian or Ladinic, which has been translated into another language, or has been changed by a different manner of writing, or which has been modified by a foreign suffix, will receive the original name, in its original Italian form.

Decisions as to the real origin of a name were to be made by the local prefect, and

the owner of the name was to be fined if he used his accustomed name again. On Aug. 26, 1926, an executing ordinance was issued, and the Prefect of Trent was ordered to make up a list of all those names which could be traced back to an Italian origin, to make the necessary change, and to notify the family of its new name. The form in which the change order is issued is as follows: "The family name . . . has been corrected to . . . by decree of the Prefect of Trent."

Police Oppression—In addition to these formal statutory measures, the people complain of the methods of law enforcement employed. I may cite the following cases, which are taken quite at random from a mass of similar instances. One day a squad of gendarmerie appeared at the home of an old farmer, demanding admittance to search for arms, and after a search of a few minutes, having found no arms, the sergeant found a piece of saccharine in a vase. Now saccharine is sold under a Government monopoly, and the sergeant charged that the bit involved had been smuggled without paying the tax. This was denied, the daughter of the farmer further claiming that the sergeant threw the piece into the vase himself. The farmer was held in jail for four days, without counsel or right to consult friends, and was then told to go home. No result of the examination was given. The village friends of the farmer opened suit against the gendarmes for the search without warrant and for the physical harm done to the old man, who had required the services of a physician. The soldiers were released in the midst of the trial by an amnesty granted all political prisoners on the King's anniversary. Once freed of the charge, the soldiers now brought suit against the people on the charge of perjury, and the case, though not yet decided, seems likely to come out against the villagers.

The use of "plainclothes" detectives has provoked strenuous protest. A young man known to me has been followed for a number of months by "plainclothes" men who try at restaurants and other places to get him to agree that the Italian administration is bad, in order to be able to use this statement as ground for arrest. So

far he has been able to evade the desired answer. Through the help of a "plain-clothes" Fascist, a political club was organized, in which German songs were sung. One night, shortly afterward, the club was surrounded and the whole group, with the exception of the Fascist, was arrested for violation of the law which prohibits the singing of German songs in groups. Another young man whom I met had been in jail for four months for having sung harmless German folksongs with a group of little boys.

At the beginning of 1926 there was a discussion on the part of the Italian officials on the question of removing the Walther von der Vogelweide monument which stands on the Walther Platz in Bolzano. It was planned to place in its stead the statue of an Austrian, Battisti, who was executed by the Austrian Government during the war for complicity with Italy. The family of the deceased objected, on the ground that he himself would have disapproved of such an action. Just outside the city the surviving members of the former Austrian Jaeger Regiment had begun to build a monument to the memory of their fallen comrades. By March, 1926, the foundation of the monument had been laid and considerable work above ground was completed. Upon the King's visit the Italian Government — probably Mussolini himself — arranged to have Victor Emmanuel at this time dedicate a monument in Bolzano to the memory of the fallen Italian soldiers and to the victory over Austria on the site of the Jaeger monument! The beginnings of that monument are being destroyed and the very stones used for the Italian monument. In addition, the City of Bolzano was forced to "donate" 100,000 lire to the building fund for the new monument, and pressure was brought to bear through credit organizations to force the Tyrolean population to attend the dedication.

ISSUE CLEARLY DEFINED

The incidents which have been portrayed are, in my opinion, a fair sample of the actual situation. Before leaving the country I interviewed those who were in a posi-

tion to give an official statement of the Italian and Fascist side of the case. The results of this may be summarized as follows: The chief questions I asked were: (1) Is it true that the greater part of the population of what was known as South Tyrol—i. e., the area from the Brennero to Salurno—is German-speaking, of German-Austrian origin and Austrian-minded, that is, opposed to Italian rule? (2) Are the stories of the hardships of the German population under Italian rule true, especially as they charge that cultural autonomy is denied them? (3) In case (1) and (2) are true, what justification does the Italian Government give for its actions, and what are its plans for the future?

The answers were as simple and concise as they were absolute and uncompromising. (1) The population down to Salurno is for the greater part German-speaking and Austrian-thinking, and sympathetic to Austria and Germany. Italy does not claim that this entire area is Italian in speech or sympathies. That question does not come up for discussion. (2) No doubt the population of this territory is suffering certain hardships. Italy has a plan for making the entire country and people Italian in speech and custom and thought. For the attainment of this end every possible means is being employed, whatever institution or habit it may touch. (3) Italy was given the territory by the Treaty of St. Germain, and it is her duty to administer this area as a part of Italy. The Italian Government recognizes no minority rights within the Italian political area. The entire territory ruled over by the Italian Government is Italian. If it is not purely Italian it presents a danger to the security of the Italian State. There cannot be a State within the State. Any one opposing the program of the Italian Government is an enemy and must be dealt with accordingly. That is Italy's problem. The outside world has nothing to say; and Italy refuses to admit that it is a question for the League of Nations to pass upon. Italy is not bound by any treaty to protect minorities or to grant minority rights. This is an internal matter.

Rumania's Persecution of the Jews

By SOLOMON SUFRIN

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AS a result of the acquisition by Rumania of the provinces known as Bessarabia, Transylvania, Banat, Maramuresh and Bukovina, that country now has a Jewish population of one million. Of this million, three-quarters had lived in those provinces before the World War; they were citizens of their respective countries with full and equal civil and political rights, and some had held high Government positions. No discrimination was made against them. The only Rumanian Jews who suffered from persecution were those who lived in what is known today as the old Kingdom of Rumania, consisting of two principalities, Moldavia and Muntenia.

In the Treaty of Paris signed by the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers and Rumania on Dec. 9, 1919, Rumania agreed to recognize as Rumanian nationals, without the requirement of any formality, Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory who did not possess another nationality (Chap. I, Art. 7), and that all Rumanian nationals should be equal before the law and enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction of race, language or religion (Chap I, Art. 8). The publication of this treaty electrified world Jewry in general and Rumanian Jewry in particular. It was expected that the Rumanian Government would live up to the treaty literally, thereby solving that troublesome question known in Eastern Europe as the Jewish Question. A new era seemed to have dawned upon the Jewish horizon. The Rumanian Jews, trusting their Government and relying on the treaty, were elated. They felt that the supreme sacrifices made by them on the battlefields for the purpose of creating a greater Rumania had not been in vain. They decided on a policy of forgetting the past and of setting to work, hand in hand with their fellow-citizens of the Christian faith, to do their share in the upbuilding of the nation.

A period of happiness, law and order

followed, but unfortunately it was of very short duration. A strong anti-Semitic movement, headed by Professor A. C. Cuza and Professor Zelea Codreanu, of the University of Jassy, swept the entire country. The Government, which prohibited all peaceful manifestations of the Opposition, gave a free hand to the violent activities of the anti-Semites. The entire Jewish population was and still is held in terror. Jews were driven from schools and universities; Jewish newspaper men were condemned without mercy by the courts and juries; it became unsafe for Jews to walk the streets of the principal cities and towns, to attend theatre performances, to ride in street cars or on the railways or to visit public places. Those Jews who attempted to defend themselves, if they were not killed in the cellars of the *Siguranza* (security police), as was the case of Brownstein of the city of Berlad, received severe sentences from the Magistrates, while anti-Semites who actually killed and murdered were hailed as heroes, and other rowdies were freed on nominal bail. The tearing of Jewish beards has become a patriotic act; the police fail to arrest even those rioters who carry and discharge revolvers. The Jewish newspapers which dare to denounce anti-Semitic instigations and attacks are called traitors to the country by the Government press, which always minimizes or excuses all anti-Semitic outbreaks.

The political parties in Rumania consist of the so-called Liberal Party, which is controlled by the Bratianu brothers; the National-Peasant Party, headed by Dr. Maniu and Dr. Nicholas Lupu, recently consolidated, representing the Democracy of Rumania; the People's Party, which practically exists only on paper, headed by General Averescu, the present Premier; and the anti-Semitic Party, headed by Professor A. C. Cuza. Usually the dominant party continues in office for a period of four years, especially when it is the Liberal Party. Parliament is then dissolved and

the Opposition or the minority is always called to form a Cabinet. For four long years the Liberal, or Bratianu, Government encouraged the anti-Semitic movement to an extent which made life unbearable to the entire Jewish population.

POLITICAL FACTORS

In 1926 the Liberal Party's term of office expired. The country was seething with discontent, and the entire nation was counting the days when the Bratianu Government would resign. The major minority in Parliament was expected to be called into power, but to the great astonishment and disappointment of the nation, the so-called People's Party, headed by General Averescu, which had exactly nine representatives in Parliament to the 110 of the Opposition, was called upon to take up the reins. The People's Party and its leader are known to be under the immediate influence and control of the Bratianu brothers, the leaders of the Liberal Party. Like its predecessor, it appears that the new Government fails to recognize the value of the Jewish element and how more valuable it might become if allowed to develop freely and harmoniously. The Rumanian Jews do not know or recognize any interests beyond the Rumanian frontier, for they understand that the prosperity of the country means their prosperity. And it is in this country that their ancestors lie buried.

The Rumanian Constitution did not solve the Jewish question because those who are responsible for giving it effect do not enforce the law. That the new Government does not intend to pursue a policy of conciliation and of peace was made evident by the fact that immediately upon its coming into power it reinstated Professor A. C. Cuza, the head of the anti-Semitic movement, in his former position as Professor of Economics at the University of Jassy. Professor Cuza, who has already created more trouble for the Rumanian Jews and injured the reputation of the Rumanian people and Government abroad more than any other living Rumanian, advocates a policy of annihilation and destruction, openly preaching violence against the Jews, sowing the seed of discord in the ranks of the Rumanian people and poisoning the hearts and minds of the future generation against

Rumanian citizens of the Jewish faith. Upon his recent arrival in Bucharest to receive the certificate of his reappointment, Professor Cuza was met at the railroad station by a large number of students who paraded with him through the streets of the city, assaulting Jewish passersby, three of whom were beaten into insensibility. The police made arrests, but at the police prefectures the disturbers of the peace were promptly discharged, while the three injured Jews were held overnight in spite of the fact that one of them required immediate medical treatment, as he was suffering from a severe hemorrhage.

It is also under this new Government that there has been put into effect the so-called Baccalaureate system, which indirectly enforces a *Numerus Clausus*—a percentage restriction—with reference to Jewish students. At the opening of the scholastic year in the city of Czernowitz last Fall, eight non-Jewish students who presented themselves at the entrance examination passed, but out of sixty-seven Jewish students only seventeen were admitted. This resulted in a public protest by the Jewish students against official and open discrimination which actually ruined their future. The entire group of Jewish students were arrested and brought before a magistrate. During the hearing, which took place recently, one of them named David Falick was shot dead in the court room by an anti-Semitic student. The murderer is today hailed as a national hero, on the ground that by killing a fellow student, he saved the reputation of the Rumanian student classes and the national pride of Rumania.

Traveling on the Rumanian Government railroads today has become a most difficult and dangerous enterprise for a Jew. No Jew is certain to arrive safely at his place of destination. Very frequently Jews are set upon by bands of anti-Semites who either beat them severely or throw them bodily out of the moving train. Only a few months ago a Jewish corporal, who during the World War had received decorations for valor on the battle-field, was thrown off a moving train and lost one of his legs. The injuries he received made immediate amputation imperative, and today this valiant veteran of the World War

lies a cripple in a Jewish hospital—a living example of the barbarity perpetrated upon a peace-loving and law-abiding citizen for no other reason than because he happened to have been born a Jew.

SENATOR'S ELECTION INVALIDATED

The new Government permitted the invalidation of the election of a prominent Jewish merchant as Senator on the technical ground that his name appeared on the ballot as Ilie Mendelsohn, instead of his original Jewish name Ilie sin Mendel. The Government wanted in his place a politician by the name of Cherkez, and therefore instigated and approved the invalidation. It is needless to say that Cherkez is now the new Senator from the city of Jassy, whose population is 80 per cent. Jewish, because thousands of Jewish citizens had refrained from voting as a protest against the invalidation, Mendelsohn having declined renomination.

The Jewish children find great difficulty in entering the public schools, which are quite insufficient in number. Since the initiation of the anti-Semitic movement the situation has become much worse. Those children who do succeed in entering the schools become veritable martyrs by reason of the treatment they receive from the other children, and very often, alas! from the teachers themselves. The Jews have been forced, therefore, at a great expense to build and maintain their own schools. The children in these schools are recruited from the poorer classes of the Jewish population. The Jewish schools include not only primary schools and gymnasia, but also lower and superior schools of commerce and professional schools. The Jews have on several occasions asked help from the State in maintaining these schools, but their demands have always been rejected.

No *Numerus Clausus*, or percentage restriction, affecting the admission of Jews to the universities is legalized, but the same purpose is effectively achieved in an indirect manner. In all the faculties there is an admission or entrance examination which is in strict violation of the scholastic rules of the secondary schools, whose graduates are entitled to enter universities without any kind of restriction. The result is obvious—the majority of the Jewish candi-

dates fail to pass. Many of those who have already entered the universities are obliged to abandon their studies, because life is made intolerable for them by their Christian fellow-students, who insult them and even beat them and by some of the professors who harass them at every turn. The Faculty of Medicine of the University of Jassy recently decided not to admit any Jewish students to the examination of anatomy unless they brought their quota of cadavers for dissection. As Jewish law and tradition compel the immediate burial of the dead, it is impossible for Jewish students to comply with this condition. The result is that the number of Jewish students has been reduced by 80 per cent. There are also cases of Jewish students who had finished the university course entirely, but who were refused their diplomas because an anti-Semitic professor declined to sign the document or to give them the necessary final mark.

In the old Kingdom of Rumania the Jews were always at the mercy of the whim and wish of the Prime Ministers, who issued decrees to suit their own political purposes. Finally, through the Constitution recently voted in Parliament, the Jews have obtained their citizenship, and that question may for the time being be considered as solved on paper at least. For the annexed provinces the situation is reported to be very grave. The Government has from time to time placed various obstacles in the way of Jewish applicants for Rumanian citizenship. It has entrusted prejudiced committees with full power to accept or reject applications, many of which when filed by Jews have never been numbered or placed on the lists for hearing. Hundreds of Jews who were formerly citizens of Austria and Hungary are today men without a country, thereby suffering great hardship.

While the anti-Semitic movement in Rumania continues to grow more intense daily, the Government takes no measures to abate it. The Penal Code provides penalties for those who incite one section of the people against another. In spite of the frenzied agitation that has been carried on against the Jews throughout the country, there is not one case on record of a single person having been brought to justice by

reason of such incitement. Thousands of pamphlets are published and distributed charging the Jews with being murderers and with killing Christians, or declaring that the Jewish religion is a criminal religion, that the Jews need Christian blood for Passover, that the Jews are traitors, that they acted as spies during the war, and that the Jewish people have nothing in common with their Christian neighbors. The official press representing the Government is encouraged to promote this propaganda by the Government itself. The Government, indeed, so far from suppressing or even curbing the campaign against the Jews, has instead shown itself actually sympathetic to the perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts. The purpose of the Government seems to be to make the Jews always responsible for anything and everything that goes wrong in the country.

ANTI-SEMITIC TERRORISM

Professor Sylvan Levi, the well known French Sanscrit scholar, in his review of the situation of the Jewish communities in various lands, submitted at the annual meeting in Paris recently of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the oldest Jewish body in Western Europe engaged in international philanthropy and social service work among the Jewish population, has the following to say regarding the situation of the Jews in Rumania:

The position of the Jews in Rumania remains very disquieting. The anti-Semitic campaign conducted by Professor Cuza is spreading with alarming rapidity. Millions of illustrated pamphlets disseminating hatred are being circulated. At the slightest provocation armed gangs fall upon the Jewish quarters in the principal cities and pillage and maltreat the Jews. Excesses have taken place in Bucharest, Jassy, Berlad, Focșani and Piatra-Neamț. The Jewish population is living in a constant state of panic.

Although under the Versailles Treaty the Rumanian Jews have acquired equal citizenship rights, they are actually as far from enjoying those rights as ever. The Ministry of the Interior is now engaged in drafting a new measure forbidding Jews to live in the capital. The commissions appointed to examine individual applications for citizenship have rejected thousands of Jewish applications, especially in the new provinces. Mr. Lucien Wolf discussed the question with the Rumanian Government representatives in Geneva, and they assured him that the Govern-

ment sincerely desired to find a satisfactory solution of this problem. But so far no action has been taken. On the contrary, if the new laws now awaiting the decision of the Rumanian Parliament are passed, new restrictions will be imposed on the Jewish minority.

A memorandum addressed to the Rumanian Government by the Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Jewish Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association on the subject of the anti-Semitic agitation in Rumania, published recently, decries the anti-Semitic agitation in Rumania and calls upon the Rumanian Government to stop it. After recounting the fact of the acquittal of students who confessed their intention of murdering several Jews, the acquittal of Codriana, who murdered the Prefect of Jassy, and the sentencing of a Jew named Lehrman to three months' imprisonment and a heavy fine because he dared to hit back at Professor Cuza—an incident followed by anti-Semitic riots at Bucharest, Jassy and Focșani — the memorandum quotes from typical anti-Semitic pamphlets and newspapers examples of the propaganda which is being conducted among the population against the Jews. For example, Professor Cuza in a newspaper article describes Judaism as "criminal and perverse" and "the satanic religion of hatred," and refers to the Old Testament as "diabolical books, all inspired by the devil."

The Jews, the memorandum states, have lost confidence in the Government. These troubles have been going on for four years. The propaganda is the work of university professors, teachers in high schools and elementary schools and priests. After every outbreak the Government has issued a communiqué, always to the same effect, that it would sternly repress disorders. This has been done about fifteen times. The Government has at its disposal all the laws that are necessary for taking steps to end the campaign. These laws are put into operation with excellent effect against the Socialist and the Communist parties. Hundreds of Socialists have been arrested for participating in secret meetings, but not twenty anti-Semitic agitators have been arrested, though their work is carried out in broad daylight. Socialist and Communist journals and pamphlets are promptly con-

fiscated, often while they are still being printed, and no Socialist or Communist meeting is allowed to be held in public.

Further important testimony regarding anti-Semitism in Rumania comes from André Gernieu, General Secretary of the League of Human Rights, a man enjoying the greatest respect in Western Europe. He recently visited Rumania, and on his return to Paris, in an interview published in the well-known newspaper, *Le Quotidien*, he described the situation.

LAWS DISREGARDED

Although, according to the Constitution, Jews enjoy all rights, Gernieu declared there was a great difference between the law and its application. According to the law, the Jews are equal to all other citizens, and have a right to demand that their human rights be respected. In point of fact, however, they are being spat upon and the law is trampled under foot. Insulting or wronging a Jew is not punishable. The law provides severe penalties for those urging murder and violence, but Rumanian journalists and speakers may openly and with impunity preach "death to the Jews," and there is no prosecutor to call them to account for the act. Rumania has no *Numerus Clausus* law, and yet Jewish students have actually no opportunity for study. They are being persecuted and refused admission to the universities; they are compelled to undergo such abuse and humiliation that they go elsewhere to get their education.

What took place during the trial of the anti-Semitic students in Jassy, who under the leadership of the notorious Jew-baiter, Professor Cuza, had for a long time terrorized the Jews, was described by Gernieu. In order to put a stop to these excesses, a certain Manciu was named as Police Prefect of Jassy, and he really went seriously about the task of bringing order to the city. For this "treason to the Fatherland" Manciu was one day murdered and two policemen wounded in open court, by a man named Codreanu. The murderer was brought to trial, but the proceedings were reduced to a mockery of justice, and a scandalous disregard of all established

rules of court procedure. The court room was invaded by several hundred anti-Semitic students, who turned the trial into a mass meeting. A lawyer named Costafanu, a man 72 years old, who represented the widow of the murdered Prefect—no other lawyer in Rumania cared to accept this task—was openly insulted and denied the opportunity to speak. Professor Cuza, on the other hand, delivered a long address calling upon the court to do its "patriotic duty" and give Codreanu his freedom. This was really done and the murderer was let off without any punishment. That was not all. Codreanu became a national hero. Several days after the trial he was married, and the wedding was turned into a grand demonstration in honor of the "hero" and against the Jews. Approximately 30,000 followers came from all parts of Rumania, parading with the swastika emblems, and bearing flowers and presents for the "hero." Codreanu himself headed the procession carrying a staff of the ancient *voivozi* (dukes), like a royal sceptre, as a "symbol of power." In short, the wedding of the murderer became a national holiday.

Gernieu asked a Minister: "How can you permit such things?" The Minister replied: "If I had the power, I would know what to do." Pointing to a detachment of soldiers which happened to pass by, Gernieu remarked: "There you have the power." The Minister smiled. "With this power," he said, "you can fight foreign enemies, but under no circumstances the anti-Semites within the country, for 95 per cent. of the army is anti-Semitic, and for the remaining 5 per cent. I would not take the responsibility, either."

The conclusion to which Gernieu came is that the Rumanian Government bears the whole guilt. At first, for reasons of internal politics, the Government tolerated the anti-Semitic movement, supported it and utilized it against the Opposition. Now, the anti-Semitic movement has grown bigger than the Government, and the Government is powerless. The situation in short, as Gernieu summed it up, is that the Government reigns and anti-Semitism governs in Rumania today.

Afrikaans Language Recognized in South Africa

By EDGAR BROOKES

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AMONG the many linguistic movements at present arousing attention in the world, the development of the Afrikaans language is one of the most interesting. South Africa is the third bilingual Dominion of the British Empire, but its language difficulties are different from those of Canada and the Irish Free State. In Canada, the second language is a great world medium of expression. In Ireland, the Irish tongue is not in reality that of the mass of the people and may be said to represent largely an antiquarian revival of an all but dead language. Afrikaans, like Irish, is the possession of a small nation and is never likely to attain world fame. Like the French language of Canada, on the other hand, it has never ceased to be the living tongue of hundreds of thousands of people and its reduction within the last half century to writing and grammatical form has been a natural development and not an artificial creation.

Today Afrikaans is the second official language of the Union of South Africa. It is used extensively in Parliament, even for the budget speech, and very largely for Governmental documents—acts, regulations, proclamations and so forth. In one university and one university college it is the sole medium of instruction up to the highest post-graduate standard. In two other university colleges it is the joint medium with English. Literary activity is such that it has been estimated that one book a week is published all the year round for an Afrikaans speaking population of 990,000 (of whom 790,000 are over seven years of age). At least three poets of more than average standard have been produced, viz., Jan Celliers, J. D. du Toit and Louis Leipoldt,

while of the prose writers Senator Langenhoven has been dubbed by one enthusiastic critic the best living writer in any purely Teutonic language, and the work of "Sangiyo" (A. A. Pienaar) has become known far outside the borders of South Africa.

Sixty years ago not a word of Afrikaans had been written. How is the great change to be explained? The explanation is partly political, as indeed the whole history of the Afrikaans language movement, both its causes and its effects, must be related to South African political development. When Great Britain first took over the Cape Colony from the Netherlands, she found already in the field two languages, or, as her officials summed them up—a language and a patois. Dutch—"High Dutch" or "Nederlands," as it is frequently termed in South Africa to distinguish it from Afrikaans—was the official language of the settlement and largely the spoken language of Cape Town, where the constant immigration of Government officials from Holland kept the population in close touch with the pure mother-tongue, preventing local changes and keeping close contact with changes at the fountain-head.

The spoken language of the population outside the capital was even, at that date, not "High Dutch." The result of a generation of investigation has made fairly clear the true origin of Afrikaans. Originally a dialect form of seventeenth and early eighteenth century Dutch, brought out by the original Hollander settlers, it became subject to two modifications which carried it further and further away from the original parent-tongue.

In the first place, the break with Holland was almost complete, and hence the development of Dutch since 1700 was reflected

very little, if at all, in the spoken language of South Africa. The Dutch basis of the Afrikaans language is the Dutch of 1700. In the second place, there were strong local influences at work on the language. A number of additional words were introduced from Portuguese and the Malay dialects. The influence of the French spoken by the early Huguenot immigrants was very different. On the vocabulary of Afrikaans, French made but the slightest impression. But on its grammar the Huguenot influence was enormous; and the effect of French on the old Dutch accidence and syntax may be compared to the similar effect of Norman French on old English. From a highly inflected language, Afrikaans has become grammatically one of the simplest in the world. During the last thirty years English has very greatly influenced the vocabulary of Afrikaans, especially in the spheres of politics and sport, and finally a good deal of direct borrowing from Nederlands (with obvious modifications of sound and spelling) is going on, especially in the learned sciences. In written form and in speech, the Afrikaans of today is at least as different from Dutch (Nederlands) as the latter is from German.

The above brief sketch of the history of Afrikaans helps one to understand two things—namely, the persistence of the movement for the recognition of Nederlands as the alternative official language to English, and the certainty of the failure of that movement.

THE DEFEAT OF NEDERLANDS

In 1806, when the Union Jack was finally hoisted at Cape Town, no one in South Africa suggested that the speech of the colonists was anything more than a rather debased dialect of Dutch. Hence for nearly a century from that date the claim of the older population was for the recognition of Nederlands. Nederlands alone was permitted to be used as an alternative to English in the Cape Parliament. Nederlands was the official language of the two Africander republics. And yet all the time the movement for its recognition was stultified by the fact that not one in forty of the population actually spoke it. How could Nederlands be an efficient competitor with English, a living spoken language in South

Africa? What was the purpose of forcing the Africander to write in a medium as foreign as, sometimes more foreign than, English? Arguments such as these, supported by the rise of an excellent Afrikaans literature, finally succeeded, shortly after the union of the four South African States in 1910, in disposing entirely of the Nederlands policy.

EFFECT OF OPPRESSION

Yet for nearly seventy years it was Nederlands alone that took the field against English. The harsh measures of the first Governors, who forbade the use of Dutch in the Legislative Council Chamber, the law courts and the schools, and even tried to replace it with English in the Church, had little effect outside Cape Town, while they led very largely to the movement known in South African history as the Great Trek, out of which the northern republics, using Dutch as their official language, were born. A remarkable feature of the Dutch and Afrikaans language movements is the way in which they have been fostered by oppression. On every occasion on which the national Africander sentiment came into conflict with aggressive British Imperialism, Afrikaans received a fresh lease of life. Thus the "first language movement" was made a success by the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877; the "second language movement" was the direct outcome of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 with its resulting suppression of Dutch in the newly annexed Colonies; while certainly, whether rightly or wrongly is not the point, a tremendous impetus was given to Afrikaans literature as the result of the Rebellion of 1914.

The first piece of written Afrikaans appeared in 1861, and, curiously enough, was written by an English-speaking South African, Mr. L. H. Meurant. It was entitled *Samesprake tussen Klaus Waarsegger en Jan Tuyfelaar* (Dialogue between Nick Truthteller and Jack Doubter) and was a political brochure, the use of Afrikaans being a master-stroke of ingenuity in appealing to a rural constituency. Other pamphlets followed in rapid succession, and in 1875 was founded the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Society of True South Africans), which at once set to work

to produce an Afrikaans national anthem and a manifesto, in which, after saying that some South Africans spoke English and some Dutch, it made an appeal to those South Africans who spoke Afrikaans and whom it characterized as the real South Africans. It published a newspaper *Di Patriot*, and later *Ons Klyntdjie* (Our Little One) and produced some good work, though most of its literature was exceedingly mediocre and it had no genius behind it. Its principal writer, S. J. du Toit, produced one good novel, *Die Koningin van Skeba* (The Queen of Sheba). Another successful work was *Die Sewe Duivels* (The Seven Devils) of Professor Jan Lion Cachet, while President F. W. Reitz wrote some racy verse, including a very clever Afrikaans version of *Tam o' Shanter*.

The founders of the *Genootskap* adopted the motto "We write as we speak." This attempt to create an absolutely phonetic language broke down, however, owing to the feeling that certain historic forms indicating the Dutch parentage of Afrikaans ought to be preserved. The earliest Afrikaans writers wrote *fan* (of, from) and *fer* (for) and *ferag* (contempt) for the Nederlands *van*, *voor* and *veracht*, "f" and "v" having the same phonetic value in Afrikaans. Modern Afrikaans writes *van*, *vir* and *verag*, thus retaining the connection with Nederlands.

The Afrikaans movement made its way but slowly until the arrival of Lord Milner in South Africa. It is not too much to say that Milner is responsible for the present triumph of Afrikaans. The heroic tragedy of the Anglo-Boer War—the "War of Independence," as Africanders wistfully call it—instead of destroying the spirit of the people roused it to new energy, and inspired its literature with new depth and pathos. The ruthless suppression of all that was Dutch by the Milner régime—the language was banned everywhere except in the schools, and there put on the same level as French and slightly lower than Latin—called forth a flaming indignation. A new *Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap* (Afrikaans Language Association) was founded in 1905. Early in 1906 South Africa read for the first time real Afrikaans poetry. *Die Vlakta* (The Plains) of Jan Celliers is a poem of which any literature could be

proud. Inspired by Shelley, it is not unworthy of comparison with some of his best odes. Soon Jan Celliers was joined by worthy fellow singers. "Totius" (Dr. J. D. du Toit) in his *Rochel* and *By die Monument*, has sung the "War of Independence" from the standpoint of the vanquished. His verse is the best modern expression of the grief, wrath and resignation of a deep Calvinism wedded to a love of beauty. "The iron has entered into his soul"; he himself says that he has forgiven, but cannot forget. A poet who looks to the future rather than to the past—C. Louis Leipoldt—is said by some to be the best Afrikaans poet. His lyric *Oktobermaand* is certainly worthy of inclusion in any general anthology of modern verse.

LITERARY LEADERS

Space is lacking to go into details as to later writers in prose and verse, and some very important names, such as D. F. Malherbe, de Woal, Morais, Langenhoven, Preller, van Bruggen, Keet, can be mentioned only in passing. A word might be said, however, of Sangiro (A. A. Pienaar). Born in 1894, he has already made himself a great name, and it is noteworthy of the spread of Afrikaans culture that his best-known books deal with Kenya Colony. He is a describer of wild nature and animal life, and his *Manhaar*, which has been translated into English with a most appreciative preface by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, is indicative of the general quality of his work.

While these men were making Afrikaans a literary language, development was going on in other directions. The *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie dir Taal, Lettere en Kuns* (South African Academy of Language, Literature and Art), founded in 1909, has harmonized all remaining divergencies of spelling and finally fixed the language. From 1914 onward Afrikaans Medium Schools have been erected all over South Africa. In 1918 full Parliamentary recognition was accorded to Afrikaans, thus setting the seal of death on the parallel but rapidly declining Nederlands movement.

Will Afrikaans continue to live in South Africa? Will it kill English? These are questions of great interest to South Africa, and to Englishmen interested in South

Africa, for they have a great deal to do with South African political development. The Afrikaans movement has sometimes been anti-English; generally, while fully recognizing the claims of English and tolerant of different points of view, it has naturally been strongly nationalistic. The spread of Afrikaans has to some extent weakened the ties binding South Africa to the Empire. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that, given sympathetic treatment on the part of the English section such as has been evinced by the Earl of Athlone's public speeches in Afrikaans, republicanism and the spread of Afrikaans will necessarily go together.

SOUTH AFRICA NOW BILINGUAL

Whatever may be the effect of its life, there is not the faintest reason to suppose that Afrikaans will die out. The Boer War and the Milner régime finally destroyed any hopes the British section of South Africa may once have entertained that Afrikaans would slowly perish by internal decay. Though fewer people speak only Afrikaans, more people speak Afrikaans in addition to English. In 1918, 30 per cent. of the white population spoke English only, 27 per cent. Afrikaans only and 42 per cent. both, while 1 per cent. spoke neither. In 1921, only 25 per cent. spoke English only and 24 per cent. Afrikaans only, while over 50 per cent. spoke both and a frac-

tional percentage neither. Children of English-speaking parents acquire Afrikaans naturally at school, and except in a few areas such as Natal the country is today a bilingual one.

This does not, however, mean that English will die out. English has hitherto been the aggressive rather than the attacked party. Were a real effort to be made to stamp out English in South Africa it would be resisted to the uttermost, not least by those English-speaking South Africans who have incurred the antipathy of their own race by championing the rights of Afrikaans.

Not that there is, or has ever been, a movement for the elimination of English. Nearly all Africanders realize how important an element English is in their lives and in the education of their children. As the tongue of a very large minority of the population and as the country's greatest cultural link with the outside world, English would live in any case, even were the imperial factor non-existent.

South Africa is becoming increasingly, and will be permanently, a bilingual country. In its cultural life the Afrikaans language and literature will always play a great part, and a sympathetic appreciation of both will go a long way to enable one to reach the rather elusive heart of South Africa.

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA.



China Abrogating Unfair Treaties With the Powers

By YANG KWANG-SHENG
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THE successful northward march of the Cantonese Nationalist Armies under the leadership of General Chang Kai-shek, taking one province after another from the opposing war lords, has been the most significant development in recent Chinese history. Although the North lacked a civil government after the resignation of Wellington Koo's Cabinet, efforts were made under the guidance of the Manchurian Warlord, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, to suppress the "rebels." At the same time, there was a steady growth of anti-foreign sentiment throughout the whole country; and at places like Hankow the crisis was characterized as the gravest since the Boxer uprising of 1900. Gun-boats of the "interested" Powers were rushed hither and thither for the professed purpose of protecting their citizens and property. The unfavorable report of the Extraterritoriality Commission was made public with the signature of the Chinese Commissioner attached with reservations as to Parts I to III. Whatever the merit of the report, it again drew fire from the opposing camps over an issue begun in the early days of this century. These events seem confused and discouraging. From them, nevertheless, one can see emerging one concrete and important issue that well deserves the closest attention of the students of China and her position in the world. That is the question raised by the abrogation by China of the Sino-Belgian Commercial Treaty of 1865. Its importance cannot be overestimated. China is feeling her way to the basis of international equality. She is making the Belgian Treaty a "test case." The abrogation is the clearest and strongest evidence that present-day China, totally and radically unlike the China of old, is ready to back up her words with actions, the words being in the form of the identic note ad-

dressed in 1925 to the sixteen Powers which have a privileged position in China.

So far as China is concerned, the controversy over the Sino-Belgian Treaty is closed—it is a *fait accompli*, unless perhaps, she is willing to submit it to the League Assembly. Belgium, however, has decided (probably upon the advice of certain other Powers, her declaration to the contrary notwithstanding) to appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Sino-Belgian Treaty of 1865, ratified on Oct. 27, 1866, was a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation. One of the products of the first and second periods of Western aggression against China, it was a typical example of all the unequal treaties that the "Middle Kingdom" was obliged to conclude with other Powers, granting unilaterally consular jurisdiction, control over China's tariff, and most-favored nation treatment. Article 46 of the treaty reads:

If henceforth the Government of his Majesty the King of the Belgians should deem it useful to modify some of the clauses of the present treaty it would be free to open negotiations to this effect after the lapse of ten years to begin from the day of the exchange of ratifications provided six months before the expiration due official notice must be given the Government of his Majesty the Emperor of China of its desire to make the modifications and what they will be. Should there be no such official notice, the treaty shall remain in force without any change for another ten years and similarly for ten-year periods thereafter.

This article itself is a striking symbol of the basis of inequality on which China has been obliged to rest and an example of many other unequal clauses that have been incorporated in treaties concluded between China and other Powers. Belgium claims that, in virtue of this clause, she alone is given the power to initiate negotiations with a view to making modifications, and on the basis of this claim is

hailing China before the World Court for a decision. It is evident that Article 46 needs no interpretation. The stipulation is clear that when and if Belgium deems it useful, she is free to open negotiations with a view to modifying the treaty, the only condition being the giving of due notice to the Chinese Government. It is further evident that China is resting her case elsewhere and not on Article 46, although she has adopted the date provided therein as the time for the termination of the treaty.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY

China maintains that the point at issue is not merely a technical interpretation of Article 46 of the treaty, but the application of the principle of equality to the relations between China and Belgium—an issue entirely political in character and not justiciable. No nation can consent to the submission of the basic principle of equality to a judicial inquiry. The submission itself would be tantamount to China's willingness to maintain the state of inequality which she has determined to end at the earliest possible moment. The World Court is a court to adjudge *legal* disputes between sovereign nations, but not a court to pass on the question, by implication, or expressly, whether one of the parties is an equal and sovereign.

China abrogates the treaty on the recognized principle of *rebus sic stantibus*, that is, the tacit condition recognized by international law as attending to all treaties that they shall cease to be obligatory so far as the state of facts upon which they were founded has substantially changed—a principle, moreover, that is reiterated by Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations: "The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Therefore, should the question be at all submitted to international judgment, it should and could be submitted to the Assembly of the League—not to interpret Article 46, but to consider whether the treaty has become inapplicable and whether it is consonant with the basic

principle of equality among nations. The Assembly's jurisdiction over the affair flows from Article II of the Covenant, which reads in part: "It is also declared the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

China and Belgium ultimately agreed to disagree, and for the solution of their disagreement Belgium appealed to the World Court and officially filed the suit in the face of China's refusal on Nov. 26, 1926. Thus China is brought face to face with the World Court. It is impossible to predict what the World Court will do; we may, however, offer a conjecture as to what action it may take, China's refusal to submit the case notwithstanding. The question involved here must be examined in the light of the World Court Protocol and its accompanying Statute. Article 36 of the Statute reads:

The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the clauses of legal disputes concerning:

- (a) The interpretation of a Treaty;
- (b) The question of International Law;
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;

The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

The declaration required by the above article in order to make the Court's juris-

diction compulsory has been duly made by both Belgium and China.

Has the World Court compulsory jurisdiction *ipso facto* in the face of China's refusal to submit the case? The first paragraph of the above article states that the jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the *parties* refer to it. In the present instance only Belgium, one of the parties, is referring a case to it. Moreover, the provision made by the last paragraph, to the effect that if there should be a dispute as to the Court's jurisdiction, the Court could decide, presupposes the contingency of such a disagreement. When this situation arises the Court must first decide whether it has jurisdiction over the case. Therefore, we may safely conclude that the Court, at any rate, has no right to pass on the merits of the case until it has satisfied itself that there is no room for doubt as to its competency.

In considering the question of jurisdiction the Court should not only keep constantly in mind that its compulsory jurisdiction extends to only those cases which are *legal* disputes concerning the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law, the existence of facts claimed to be breaches of international obligations and, lastly, the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for a breach, but also it should take cognizance of the reasons on which China has been resting her case for termination of the treaty and her refusal to submit the dispute to the Court, the changed conditions, the rising nationalism in China, and Belgium's failure to bring the negotiations with China of a new and equal treaty to an amicable and successful conclusion.

It is an interesting question to ask what will follow if the Court decides it has jurisdiction and China still declines (and, I believe, China should decline) to appear before it. By virtue of the first part of Article 53 of the World Court Statute, Belgium may request the Court to give a decision in its favor. The first paragraph of Article 53 reads: "Whenever one of the parties shall not appear before the Court, or shall fail to defend his case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favor of his claim." To make such a request is evidently Belgium's

right; but either to allow or to dismiss the claim is within the power of the Court.

The second part of the same article says: "The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the *claim is well founded in fact and law.*" [My italics.] In view of the legitimate reasons that have been advanced by China, the recognized principle of *rebus sic stantibus* and national existence and international equality among nations, the disturbed internal conditions and the strained international relations of China that have come in the wake of a conscious and rising nationalism against her unequal position, and, most important of all, the recognition of these factors not only by the United States, China's traditional friend, but also by Japan and even Great Britain, the most imperialistic and unconciliatory power, in the memorandum made public on Dec. 25, 1926, the world doubts that Belgium will receive a favorable decision.

CHINA'S EXISTING UNEQUAL TREATIES

An "unequal" treaty is a treaty granting rights without reciprocity. The most important of these rights can be summarized under these three headings: (1) Consular jurisdiction (extraterritoriality); (2) control over the Customs Tariff and Administration; and (3) the unilateral grant of most-favored-nation treatment in all respects. Under the yoke of treaties dating as far back as 1842 China has been struggling with less rights than the Treaty Powers have within her own territory. As China learns more and more of Western ways and methods, witnesses the steady increase of the number of the Treaty Powers and watches first casually and then with alarm but helplessly the growth and hydralike expansion of these rights which at the time given were meant only for a handful of "barbarians" who were permitted to trade at five open ports, she becomes increasingly alive to the fact that these inroads on her national life must be stopped or else her national existence will be at stake.

Internationally China, though torn by civil war, is one; the Chinese people are establishing a united front, as has been

demonstrated by the events of recent years, and more especially the last two years. Internally, China may be divided into the North and the South; but Canton or Peking, General Chang Kai-shek or Marshal Chang Tso-lin, one and all are resolved that all the existing unequal treaties—the inroads that are threatening China's national life—must be terminated and, if necessary, at any cost.

If a difference is to be made between the North and the South as to their attitude toward China's international relations and the abrogation of unequal treaties, it seems to be that Peking by its statement through Minister Chao-hsin Chu, China's chief delegate to the League of Nations, has in a way declared its willingness to terminate them as they expire, whereas Canton advocates immediate abrogation of all unequal treaties at the same time; that is, of course, as soon as Canton is in power and in the position to abrogate them. The difficulty with Peking's attitude is that in some of the treaties involved, no stipulated time is stated for termination or modification. With respect to treaties falling under this category, Peking has to set a date. The difference, however, it must be pointed out at once, is far from being hard and fast. Let us quote the Chinese Minister to the United States (in an address before the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War in Washington on Dec. 8, 1926) :

I now urge that the Powers should consider whether it will not be a wise as well as a just act upon their part to declare their unqualified willingness to terminate forthwith all the unequal treaties which they have with China and thus surrender forever the superior position over the native Chinese which they now claim for their nationals in China. If this action is delayed it should not cause surprise if the Chinese nation * * * should, by their own unilateral act, declare these treaties at an end.

Apart from Belgium, there are fifteen other nations which have these unequal treaties with China. They are Brazil, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. To these sixteen nations China in June, 1925, addressed an identic note requesting revision of these treaties on the basis of reciprocity and equality. None has given a satisfactory response.

With the termination of the Belgian treaty China has begun her program of abrogating unequal treaties unilaterally.

In view of the announcement of the Peking Government of its intention to terminate the treaties as they come due according to the revision clauses contained therein, we may make a study of the definite dates of these treaties. For that purpose the table accompanying this article has been prepared. Classifying the treaties according to the revision clauses, we get the following results:

First, the treaties of Denmark, Great Britain (1858), Italy, Portugal and Spain fall in one category, the chief conditions of the revision clause being (1) ten-year periods and (2) revision or modification of the tariff and commercial articles only. Closely akin to these treaties are the French Treaty of 1885 and the British Treaty of 1902, the difference being that the revision clause of the former stipulates revision of the commercial clauses (omitting the tariff), while that of the latter treaty stipulates revision of the tariff (omitting the commercial articles). The revision clause of the Japanese Treaty is identical, except in that it is further qualified by implication that the revision must be "effected" within six months after the end of the ten-year period. It is difficult to say what construction would be put on this proviso.

Second, the treaties between China and Brazil, Mexico, and Peru respectively fall in the same class, their revision clauses applying to the whole treaty without any time restriction after the lapse of a first period. The treaty with Norway could probably be included here but for the fact that modifications are limited to the clauses relating to commerce and navigation.

The remaining countries—the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States—defy classification.

The right of a sovereign State to terminate a treaty on the ground of changed conditions or the interests of its national existence has been well recognized by the leading authorities on international law as well as having been maintained in actual practice. When the customs treaties were under discussion during the Washington Conference, it was Senator Underwood, one

THE REVISION CLAUSES IN CHINA'S UNEQUAL TREATIES

COUNTRY AND YEAR OF TREATY	REVISION CLAUSE	WHEN PEKING GOVERNMENT WOULD TERMINATE ACCORDING TO ANNOUNCED PROGRAM
Brazil, 1881 Ratifications exchanged June 3, 1882.	Article XVI—Either party may demand modifications after ten years to begin from exchange of ratifications with six months' notice.	Any time.
Denmark, 1863 Ratifications exchanged July 29, 1864.	Article XXVI—Either party may demand revision as to tariff and commercial clauses at end of June, 1868, and ten-year periods thereafter. Revision to be made within six months after end of each period.	June, 1928.
France, 1885 Ratifications exchanged Nov. 28, 1885.	Article VIII—Either party may demand revision of the commercial clauses at the end of every ten years to begin from the date of exchange of ratifications. Notice to be served six months before end of term.	Nov. 28, 1935.
Great Britain, June 26, 1858 Ratifications exchanged Oct. 24, 1860. Remarks: This treaty is supplemented and modified by the Treaty of 1902. Ratifications exchanged July 28, 1903.	Article XXVII—Either party may demand revision of the tariff and the commercial clauses every ten years. Notice to be served within six months after the end of the running period. Article XV—Either party may demand revision of the tariff every ten years. Notice to be served within six months after end.	June 26 1928. July 28, 1933.
Italy, 1866 Ratifications exchanged Nov. 12, 1867.	Article XXVI—Either party may demand revision of the tariff and commercial clauses in 1878 and every ten years thereafter. Notice must be served within six months after end.	1928.
Japan, 1896 Ratifications exchanged Oct. 20, 1896.	Article XXVI—Either party may demand revision of the tariffs and the commercial articles at end of ten years from date of exchange of ratifications. Then ten-year periods thereafter. Demand and revision must be effected within six months after end.	Peking proposed to Japan to begin negotiations for new treaty on basis of equality and reciprocity in November. The Chinese note stated that unless Japan and China conclude new treaty within six months, Peking will be compelled to define and announce its attitude on treaties heretofore in force.
Mexico, 1899 Ratifications exchanged June 19, 1900.	Article XIX—Treaty remaining in force ten years from date exchange of ratification. At its expiration either party may demand modifications by giving notice six months in advance. If not, "the treaty shall continue to remain in force in all its provisions until the expiration of one year after one of the parties has expressed to the other its intention of terminating it."	Any time.

THE REVISION CLAUSES IN CHINA'S UNEQUAL TREATIES (*Continued*)

COUNTRY AND YEAR OF TREATY	REVISION CLAUSE	WHEN PEKING GOVERNMENT WOULD TERMINATE ACCORDING TO ANNOUNCED PROGRAM
Netherlands, 1863	Separate Article: "On the revision of the tariff of commercial duties in China, which is to take place hereafter, in pursuance of the various treaties exchanged between China and other powers, the Netherlands Government shall have the right of taking part in the negotiations which are to be entered into thereupon, wherefore no special term is fixed in the treaty now concluded between the Netherlands and China."	Any time.
Norway, 1847 (Sweden and Norway), March 20	Article XXIV—The provisions of the treaty "shall not be altered without grave cause; but, inasmuch as the circumstances of the several ports of China open to foreign commerce are different, experience may show that inconsiderable modifications are requisite in those parts which relate to commerce and navigation, in which case the two Governments will, at the expiration of twelve years from the date of said convention, treat amicably concerning the same. * * *"	Any time.
Peru, 1874 Ratifications exchanged Aug. 7, 1875.	Article XVIII—Either party may demand modifications of any stipulation in the treaty after lapse of ten years dating from the exchange of ratifications. Notice to be given six months before expiration. If no notification made, the treaty will remain in force for another ten years. Per protocols of 1909, treaty is not limited to twenty years, but considered in full force and effect.	Any time.
Portugal, 1887 Signed Dec. 1. Ratifications exchanged Apr. 28, 1888.	Article XLVI—Either party may demand revision of the tariff and commercial clauses every ten years. Notice to be served within six months after end of the running period.	Dec. 1, 1927, or April 28, 1928.
Spain, 1864 Signed Oct. 10. Ratifications exchanged May 10, 1867.	Article XXIII—Same as Portugal.	Oct. 10, 1934, or May 10, 1867.
Sweden, 1908 Ratifications exchanged June 14, 1909.	Article XV—Either party may demand revision of the articles of the treaty at end of every ten years, dated from exchange of ratifications. Demand must be made within six months after expiration.	June 14, 1929.
Switzerland, 1918	No revision clause, but attached declaration states that "when China shall have improved her judicial system, Switzerland shall be ready with the other treaty powers to give up the right of consular jurisdiction." Meanwhile, the rights are granted by this declaration. The declaration also states that "it is understood that a treaty of establishment and commerce shall be negotiated in due time." Meanwhile, most-favored-nation treatment.	Any time.
U. S. A., 1903 Oct. 8. Ratifications exchanged Jan. 13, 1904.	Article XVII—Present treaty shall remain in force for ten years beginning from date of exchange of ratifications and until a revision is effected as follows: Either party may demand revision of "the tariff and the articles of this convention" at end of every ten years.	Jan. 13, 1934.

of the American delegates, that made a declaration of his views as to China's power to denounce tariff treaties:

He [Senator Underwood] believed this [the customs] treaty was not on the same basis as many other treaties involving great national rights. This was a trade agreement, a trade contract, which China had made with the other nations of the world, and he thought China had a right to denounce these treaties when she thought proper. He thought this was clearly her right because no question of national right was involved; it was merely a question of trade agreements, and agreements of that kind had been made in the past to extend over a period of time, or an indefinite period of time, and when conditions changed so that they worked a great disadvantage to one or other of the contracting parties it had been recognized in the past that such trade conventions might be eliminated.

In American constitutional law an act of Congress can void or modify any previous treaty obligation which the United States may have entered into with other nations. That is nothing more nor less than unilateral termination of a treaty, wholly or in part. The grounds of national interest or domestic welfare have invariably been used as justification. International practice makes international law; international law dispenses international justice, and international justice means the application of one standard, one rule and one code to all nations. Is China, in desiring to have the unequal treaties terminated, doing something extraordinary, without precedent and without reason, or is she merely following the course that many of her Western neighbors have pursued with equanimity and on sufficient and reasonable grounds?

[The text of an official memorandum covering a proposal of a new policy of the powers in dealing with China, which was communicated to representatives of the Washington treaty powers at Peking

on Dec. 18, was made public by the British Foreign Office on Christmas Day. It frankly recognizes the fact that the existing treaties are out of date and must be radically revised, and revised in a spirit very different from that which has characterized past relations between the powers and China. It admits that it is no longer possible to maintain the fiction that the Peking Government is representative of China and expresses its willingness to co-operate with any Government that seems likely to bring unification:

His Majesty's Government propose that these Governments (those which subscribed to the Washington treaty) shall issue a statement setting forth the essential facts of the situation and declaring their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision and all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a Government with authority to negotiate and stating their intention pending establishment of such a Government to pursue a constructive policy in harmony with the spirit of the Washington Conference, but developed and adapted to meet the altered circumstances of the present time.

His Majesty's Government propose that in this joint declaration the powers should make it clear that in their constructive policy they desire to go as far as possible toward meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation. They should abandon the idea that the economic and political development of China can only be secured under foreign tutelage and should declare their readiness to recognize her right to the enjoyment of tariff autonomy as soon as she herself has settled and promulgated a new national tariff.

They should expressly disclaim any intention of forcing foreign control upon an unwilling China.

Thus far the United States Government has not made public a reply to the note, but it is presumed to be in sympathy with this point of view. France and Japan, if one can judge from newspaper comment, appear to be hostile to any recognition of the Cantonese.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

Latin America's Attitude Toward The League of Nations

I. Representation on the League Council

By HELIO LOBO

Brazilian Ambassador to Uruguay; formerly Consul-General for Brazil in New York

If we go back to the beginning of the League of Nations, it is easy to account for the immediate adhesion of Latin-America to the League. The world had just gone through a catastrophe without parallel in history. The pacifist ideals of this continent led to a strong desire for the creation of an organization which, if it would not put an end to such horrors, might at least restrict their scope. Far from the battlefields, but nevertheless affected by their din, the nations of Latin-America saw in the flag of Woodrow Wilson a combination of noble principles for whose victory they were willing to give their best efforts.

Moreover, it was no longer possible for the countries of Europe to view the American nations as negligible sisters in the international family. The war had proved that there are no such things as principals and accessories among nations which are closely linked by ties of mutual dependence. Economic and commercial factors were paramount in bringing about that dependence. Thus, when peace was signed, one of the consequences of the war was the strengthening of the international position of countries which until then were little reckoned with. No one, for instance, is unaware of the rôle played by manganese from Brazil, nitrates from Chile, meat from Uruguay and wheat from Argentina, not to speak of the cooperation along other lines, both material and spiritual, contributing to the establishment of allied supremacy over the Central Powers. The adhesion of Latin-America to the League, therefore, was the corollary of the international outlook created by the war. To have ignored it would have meant the erection of a precarious structure. The important question was to know how Latin-America

would view the League and work with it.

There were both advantages and risks involved in Latin-America's adhesion to the League. With Latin-America as an integral part of it, the League could not possibly be a mere instrument for the execution of the Versailles Treaty, for instance, by the Council of Ambassadors. Now, several years after the foundation of the League, it may be said without fear of denial that Latin-America rendered a great service to the development of the League and to its stability. Such service can only increase in the course of time by restricting the "European tendency" of the League and contributing to its progressive universalization. There was a risk in the possibility that Latin-America might delve too deeply into the problems of the Old World; might jeopardize the future of the League by a premature idealism and lose sight of certain fundamental interests that we have on this side of the Atlantic. That difference of interests was never so well brought out as by President Monroe in his famous message written a century ago, and since then it has only increased. We have here interests and a situation peculiarly ours and sometimes in conflict with those on the other side of the Atlantic. Questions pertaining to immigration, nationality, labor, the absence of castes, the democratic foundation of our institutions, all indicate that, to a certain degree, we are a world apart.

The United States, to whose initiative the creation of the League was primarily due, has not participated in it because of party politics which misconstrued the principles of the League. The facts leading up to the refusal to participate constitute one of the most tragic episodes in the political history of the United States. The

name of Woodrow Wilson, who was sacrificed to this conflict of party rivalries, and without whose vision and tenacity the League would never have existed, is now re-emerging triumphantly. A certain degree of common sense, however, must be recognized in the objection made to the League by the farmers of the Middle West and West of the United States as opposed to the liberal opinion of the country. It is one thing to participate eventually in the solution of European problems and another to be permanently identified with European politics by having a voice in the common council of European countries. The more I think about the divergence between the United States and the organization at Geneva, the more reasonable seems to me a compromise solution whereby, at least during the first years of consolidation of the League, the United States could join it for the purpose of official cooperation in the economic and political work of the Assembly without having a permanent seat on the Council. That very cooperation has been practiced semi-officially through observers and without the benefit of direct participation.

ROTATION OF SEATS DESIRABLE

No other question debated by the League of Nations since its foundation has been more important and had wider repercussion than the admission of Germany to the League. Now that that country is a member of the League and occupies a permanent place on the Council, it is fitting to inquire how the whole question of representation in the League is viewed in Latin-America, or at least in some of the Latin-American republics.

As far as Latin-America is concerned, the principle of rotation of seats would afford a means to serve the League without incurring the risks already referred to. Brazil, by not only staying for many years in the Council, on which she occupied a temporary seat, but even pleading for a permanent one, committed an obvious mistake of judgment. In any circumstances the fulfillment of that demand was not in keeping with the special position of Brazil on the American continent, nor with the requirements of her international future. It seems paradoxical but true that the

League, by resisting the claims of Latin-America to a permanent seat, rendered it a service. The ideal would be the principle of rotation, one year for each country, at least until the League has passed through its period of formation.

There is no doubt that equality among the members of the League would be desirable. The Argentine plan, calling for a suppression of all permanent seats—the rejection of which caused the withdrawal of that country from the League—seemed to be the only one practicable, but it was based on the future development of the League and not on its present condition. It would be absurd that the great powers, the nations which made the war and are now suffering its consequences, owners of capital and of great industries, should now give up privileges which are centuries old and which are, after all, justified, on the strength of a principle of equality, which is no doubt very admirable theoretically, but very doubtful in its practical realization. From the standpoint of their century-old prestige, the power of civilization which they represented and the part they played in the World War, it must be recognized that those powers yielded a great deal—in the face of necessity, it is true, but none the less willingly—at the time of the formation of the League. The creation of permanent seats for those nations is, after all, a counterbalance to the relative minority in which they find themselves in the Council and their absolute minority in the assembly.

In spite of all the blows it has received there seems to be a Providence watching over the destinies of the League. At each crisis the friends of peace are alarmed, while those who do not believe in the League, rejoice. Notwithstanding international rivalries of all sorts hovering around it and the claims, legitimate or otherwise, which have been pressed upon it, the League has surmounted all these difficulties, and instead of ceasing to exist has, on the contrary, grown in importance and efficiency. Europe, restless and impoverished, has caused the League many difficulties. Latin-America, because it has not fully realized the purpose of the League, has also added to its troubles. But the

divergences are curable and the "divorces" but temporary.

The League should not be called or regarded as merely a benevolent society; it stands for something more than that. But even if it were that alone, it would still be entitled to the gratitude of the world. Nor should it be called a mere instrument of victory, for there was no victory, and the work of conciliation and international co-operation that it has been fostering has already borne notable results. From it arose what could never have been created otherwise, the International Court of Jus-

tice and its principle of compulsory arbitration. Without the League the international pacts of Locarno would have been impossible. Through its medium the condition of colonial populations was greatly improved without annexation. But even had these things never been accomplished, the mere fact that fifty-four nations from all corners of the world gather together every year in order to solve their common problems is in itself a most gratifying event, which marks the beginning of a new era in world history and the annals of peace.

II. The Nations Outside the League

By V. A. BELAUNDE

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THE participation of the Latin-American people in the League of Nations has given it both strength and world significance. If we read the record of the League we shall find that the Latin-American countries have played a very important rôle in the main question—that of arbitration. The optional clause was due to the clever negotiation of the Brazilian delegates. The democratic principles in the organization of the League were put forward by the delegates of Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay and Colombia. Two hundred Latin Americans have attended meetings of the Assembly, and two Latin-American countries have been represented on the Council since the beginning. At the present moment there are three Latin-American countries on the Council. The enthusiasm manifested by the Latin-American countries toward the League is due to the fact that its principles were entirely in accordance with the idealistic traditions of Latin America. Besides this, participation in the League enhances the international significance of these countries.

Nevertheless, relations between the League and the Latin-American countries have passed through two crises. One took place when the Argentine Republic withdrew from the League. This, however, was not serious, since the example was

not immediately followed by any other Latin-American country. On the contrary, there were at that time clear manifestations from the remaining countries in support of the League.

The second crisis, which was more serious, arose recently when Brazil decided to withdraw from the League on the ground that a permanent seat was not conferred upon that country. Brazil's attitude was very much regretted by the friends of the League and by the admirers of this wonderful country, which has played a most important rôle among the South American countries not only in the League Assembly but in the League Council and the World Court. The causes of this crisis are connected with the peculiar problem with which the League is confronted at the present time, a problem that is one of both development and organization. Brazil, Spain and Poland, by virtue of their population, traditions and the rôle played by them in the League, were entitled to have the same position as the other powers, but the enlargement of the Council would have presented many difficulties in the practical work of the League. Everybody now agrees that it is necessary to devise some scheme to prevent the recurrence of such a crisis and to reconcile the principle of international equality, which is the real

basis of the League of Nations, with the various degrees of participation of the different countries according to their position, interests and economic development.

The Latin-American *bloc* in the League suffered a great loss with the withdrawal of Spain and Brazil, especially as Peru, Bolivia and Costa Rica have withdrawn, if not permanently, at least for the time being. Mexico and Ecuador are not in the League. We may therefore say that, from the point of view of population, the greatest of the Latin-American countries are at present outside the League. Will these South American countries change their attitude? We hope that they will, as may be expected, as soon as they are thoroughly convinced that the League of Nations is increasing its strength and influence in the cause of world peace. To meet the objection presented by the Argentine Government with regard to the democratic character of the Council and to satisfy the Brazilian aspiration to be placed on an equal footing with other countries, the only way open is to reform the Constitution of the Council.

The London *Times*, well aware of the fact that the main obstacle in the growth of the League is the Constitution of the Council, has presented a new project that is worth consideration. Instead of dividing the countries of the world into great powers, intermediate powers and small nations, as they are practically divided in accordance with the present Constitution of the Council, the nations ought to be distributed into ethnical and cultural groups,

and these groups ought to be allowed to elect their representatives to the Council freely. This scheme would reconcile the principle of differentiation and the principle of equality. The groups referred to could be classified as follows: *British* (Great Britain and Dominions), *Occidental* (France, Luxemburg, Belgium, Switzerland), *Mediterranean* (Italy, Greece, Albania, Rumania), *German* (Austria, Holland, Hungary), *Baltic or Scandinavian* (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia), *Central Slav* (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria), *Iberian* (Spain, Portugal and the Latin-American countries), *Asiatic* (Japan, China) and so forth.

We could complete the idea of the London *Times* as follows: Every group should choose two representatives, except the Iberian group, which, on account of the number of nations involved, should choose four. It is evident that this grouping would make possible the influence of the leading countries in each group and at the same time would recognize the principle of equality. This idea is in accordance with the tendency to accept different regional policies. It will be noticed that the United States and Russia are not included in this scheme. If, however, these two countries should eventually join the League, there should be no difficulty in increasing the number of members of the Council by allotting one or two representatives to these great countries, which represent two real, distinct ethnical and cultural units.



Internal Strife Among Soviet Leaders

By WALTER DURANTY

Staff Correspondent of *The New York Times* in Russia

JUST how far the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, was originally intended to be Communist is one of the problems of history that will probably never be settled—Communist, that is, in the sense of an attempt to put into immediate practice in Russia the social and economic theories of Karl Marx. That Lenin and his associates stood for the establishment of a Communist State as an ideal goes without saying, but it is hardly likely that they anticipated any rapid success of a Marxist experiment in so backward a country as Russia. Moreover, as the Bolshevik leaders well knew, the agrarian revolution had been in full swing for several months before they came to power. The land-hungry peasants had already divided many of the large estates and showed not the slightest sign of wishing to cultivate them in common for the common good. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Lenin's initial idea was no more than the seizure of power by a group of determined persons pledged to further the interests of the proletariat and aim at the ultimate realization of the Communist State along the lines laid down by Marx.

There are numerous indications that this view has been continually held by the Bolshevik leaders. Thus, at the outset, Lenin attempted to retain the collaboration of the non-Communist elements. And there is little doubt that many decrees regarded at the time as exclusively communistic and as proofs of Russia's "Communism"—even the famous nationalization of the banks and private property—were prefaced by an attempt at cooperation and were put into force only when "sabotage"—i.e., the refusal to cooperate—became evident. The "bourgeois" Law Courts, less obdurate than the financiers, went on functioning for several months after the October Revolution. It can be shown, too, that other measures, such as the requisitions of grain and the rationing and distribution of articles of common necessity, were in reality nothing

more than "war measures," taken under the stress of civil war, like similar measures of State control in England, Germany, France and even America. (On the other hand, it may also be argued that Lenin's attempts at early collaboration with the non-Communists were nothing more than efforts to gain time and avoid a further breakdown of the economic machine.) But in any case the fact remains that there was a period of so-called "Militant Communism," in which the theories of Marx were largely followed without any great success.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY OF 1921

By the beginning of 1921, however, two decisive factors came into play: (1) It was perceived that the World Revolution was not imminent; (2) the peasants were getting very restive; they would fight rather than give up their grain, and when it was taken from them were liable to die of hunger. Even more serious signs of discontent were soon manifest. The Cronstadt Revolt, although portrayed officially as a "White" or even foreign plot, was in reality a protest against the intolerable conditions of living. It was followed by something in the nature of an armed peasant rising in the rich lands of Tambov, where it even happened that troops sent to reinforce the requisitions made common cause with the insurgents. Then Lenin acted with characteristic energy. Without any general consultation of party leaders, he at once gave orders that free buying and selling should be permitted in Tambov and the neighboring provinces, and rushed to the spot stocks of salt, kerosene, textiles and hardware to be sold or bartered to the peasants. Despite all stories to the contrary, a considerable amount of more or less permitted buying and selling for money did, to my personal knowledge, go on in city and town markets even during the period of "Militant Communism." The occasional "raids" on such markets were featured in the foreign press

as evidence that the Bolsheviks intended to suppress private trading completely, whereas this was really done to combat "speculation," which in Bolshevik phraseology means cornering, or profiteering in, articles of general consumption.

During the Spring and Summer of 1921 Lenin and a minority of the more practical leaders fought hard to replace "Militant Communism" by a partial return to "capitalist" methods. The new policy was known as "The New Economic Policy" or "NEP." The "NEP" decree was published only in August, 1921, and was interpreted by many people, including the writer, who was at that time in Riga, as a definite abandonment of Communism. This view was not then held by the Bolsheviks themselves, who regarded it, or professed to regard it, as a "strategic retreat." At present, however, I question whether any one in Russia would not agree that the "NEP" did end the period of "Militant Communism," and it is significant that the Bolsheviks now use this phrase in speaking of the period 1918-21. The general view now taken by Bolshevik theorists of the new policy of which "NEP" marked the inception—I say "inception" because it is being continually modified and adapted to new conditions—is this: that although in a sense it is a compromise with capitalist methods, it respects the most important tenet of the Russian Bolshevik faith, namely, full control over the major parts of the national economic life; *i.e.*, industrial production, finance, transport, natural resources—timber, mines, and so forth; in a word, "big business"—and that this big (State-owned) business, acting partly through the cooperative societies and partly through more direct State organs, should continue to develop its control over agricultural production by a nation-wide system of sale and purchase depots, operating in every town and village throughout Russia.

"LENINISM" OFFICIAL DOCTRINE

Although it may seem a paradox, there is no such thing as Communism in Russia today. That is merely the

label of the ruling party whose official doctrine is "Leninism."

The party gave up "Militant Communism" but retained control. The Communist Party—the V. K. P. (B) or All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks, *i.e.*, Majority), to give it the official designation—regards itself as the guardian and tutor of a not yet adult industrial and peasant proletariat, which, of course, is the party's explanation of its so-called "restriction of democratic liberties," namely, that the proletariat is not yet of age to conduct its own affairs without supervision. This has been called a Dictatorship not of, but over, the proletariat, which is true enough. But even here it may be doubted whether many of the restrictions of personal liberty were not measures of emergency in a land ruined by war and with a population accustomed to authority but always inclined to anarchy. Future historians may point to Russia as a country which got not merely the "government it deserved" but also the government it needed to escape disruption at the most critical moment of its modern history.



AT THE CROSSROADS

—Davenport (Iowa) Times

It is worth emphasizing that the official doctrine of the V. K. P. (B) is now termed "Leninism," and no longer "Marxism," or even "Communism." Definitions are always suspect, but nevertheless I would venture to define Leninism as a practical application of Marxism to Russia. How little of Marxism and how much of Russia will be left when the process is complete—for the "NEP" is highly fluid and Leninism more dynamic than static—remains to be seen. But that is a question which cannot yet be put to the Bolsheviks, who are carefully orthodox in their discussions.

It is interesting to note that both sides in the recent Communist Party controversy claimed to be the custodians of the Sacred Fire; and the Stalin Administration with its press never wearies in its attempt to show that the "Opposition" leaders are deviating from the "straight way" of Leninism. But the present writer holds a different view: Lenin was himself an opportunist, and Leninism, as he conceived it, was a precise yet supple adjustment of Marx's theories to Russian realities, not only to the realities of the urban proletariat, but of the vast majority of Russians—which means the peasants. It was an attempt also to save as much as possible of the realities of power without sacrificing any essential principle. When there was too much opposition, Lenin, like all experienced statesmen, modified his policy, for in the last resort all government is by consent. He had, it is true, to govern with a "one-party system" and lacked the convenient pressure of an authorized parliamentary opposition to bring his restless colleagues into line. But although Lenin had to think of his party, he was generally sure—such was the superiority of his intellect and will—of being finally able to modify its attitude as he pleased. Indeed, this veteran polemicist seemed actually to gain new strength and freshness of mind from these efforts of persuasion.

PARTY STRIFE—THE ISSUE EXPLAINED

But when, with his illness and subsequent death, Lenin's unique authority was removed, the very fluidity of his policy be-

gan to cause difficulty among his followers: difficulties of method, differences of interpretation. His disciples and successors, not being sure of their ground, lacked his good-humored serenity. They argued bitterly, and personal antagonisms soon appeared. How far these differences of opinion were originally due to personal antipathies is not easy to decide. It has been said that this struggle among the chiefs of the Russian Communist Party can be regarded as a bid for power by Stalin, not unlike the succession of "Boss" Croker by Charles Murphy, in which Stalin first defeated his most powerful rival, Trotsky, with the aid of Kamenev and Zinoviev, then turned upon these and others of Lenin's closest adherents in his attempt to become absolute party "boss." This has been the thesis of many hostile critics. Government by committee is not a satisfactory business, and it is reasonable to believe that there should be one man with more authority, and therefore more responsibility, than the rest. This idea may have influenced Stalin, who is masterful, but in my opinion personal ambition is not the most important issue here. Moreover, there exists a more accurate if less popular interpretation of the conflict, which really amounts to this:

Lenin was always more able than other people to see how things *must necessarily go*. At one of the most critical inner councils during the October Revolution, Lenin, after carefully reviewing and summing up the data, announced his conclusion as to the only possible action. Then, stretching himself out on a sofa, he said: "I am going to take a nap. Wake me up when you have realized that mine is the only possible course." And they did. This was his method at Brest-Litovsk in early 1918 and again in August, 1921, when almost single-handed he forced his friends to face the facts and bring in the "NEP" policy. He stated the case and, knowing he was right, left others to argue. When he died, no one had this masterly self-confidence, no one was capable of this rôle of realism and authority. Moreover, it must be remembered, the modifications introduced by Lenin into orthodox Communism were at first nearly always distasteful to the nu-

merous party doctrinaires who wished to modify as little as possible. Most of them were in the habit of having Lenin to think for them, to revise doctrines for them, to invent methods for them. And now they cannot agree as to: A. What are the essential facts; B. What is the correct interpretation; C. What ought to be done about it. Is it to be wondered at that a set of people who are casuists by nature, and who have spent a large part of their adult life arguing about new doctrines which had never been tried out, should now have so much to discuss? The remarkable thing is that they do not argue more or that the discussion has not degenerated into an open conflict; that the dividing lines are as clear as they are.

CONTROVERSY OVER PEASANTS

For there is a main dividing line apparent between the two groups. Throughout the whole controversy the Stalin Administration has consistently held to one point of pure Leninism: the link with the peasants. Whereas the Opposition, although less of a *bloc* than its adversaries like to make out, does seem to have adopted the theory that there must be a reversion to the period of greater comparative pressure on the peasants—a pressure which Lenin ended by the introduction of the "NEP." Accordingly they have advocated a greater elasticity of policy with regard to foreign capitalists. This, they argue, would enable them to avoid capitulating at home to the rich peasant, or *kulak*. Their idea is to coerce the peasant into yielding his produce by heavy taxation and by raising the price of manufactured articles. To this the Administration retorts that even if desirable this could not be done without injuring the whole monetary and industrial system in the urban centres, a point of view which can hardly fail to be right in a country where 90 per cent. of the population is peasant and supplies the export margin on which the new program of industrial reconstruction depends. If only for this reason, the Administration feels deeply the need to maintain, or rather to create, a healthy atmosphere among the peasant masses. For, as Catherine the Great wisely remarked, "One good crop will atone for ten years of political folly."

Trotsky, desirous of returning to a position where he can apply his own interpretations of Leninism, has been led to rally under his banner all the heterogeneous groups that disagree with the Administration's policy, and has doubtless tried to capitalize the discontent of the urban proletariat. "Let the peasant, who is as bad as the bourgeois, carry the burden" became the new Opposition cry. It might not be true; it may not be wise; but it was practical politics in the game of trying to oust the Administration. Trotsky needed followers, and it was obvious that the urban proletariat is still the dominant force in Russia. Faced with low wages and rising prices, the workers did see his rather specious point. Moreover, the serious-minded Communists among them are becoming vaguely alarmed at the growing strength of the "bourgeois" element among the peasantry; and they were impressed by the Opposition's contention that the Administration was capitulating to the village, and therefore to the one really active rural type, the rich peasant. Soon, they argued, it will be too late to stem the rising tide. To this the Administration again replied that coercion would be wrong and at present quite impossible, and that it would be possible through the agency of the Cooperatives and by other means, such as education, to bring the peasant gradually into the Socialist structure. This may be only a pious hope, but in any event it does not seem likely that the Opposition's idea of pressure upon the peasants would succeed when Lenin himself had been forced to abandon it.

The workers failed to follow Trotsky, partly because they want a quiet life and were not convinced that this campaign against the Administration was opportune, partly through their loyalty to the party as a whole and their distrust of anything resembling "faction." But above all owing to party discipline, to the superbly organized party machine, which is the real Russian "steam-roller."

This leads up to the capital question of discipline and solidarity among the Communist leaders. The differences of opinion between the Administration and the Trotsky Opposition are extremely grave and the controversy has been even sharper than the

outside world was allowed to suppose. Indeed, at one moment an open split and the expulsion from the party of Trotsky and his followers seemed inevitable. What were the reasons that kept them in and led to a compromise? In the first place, the Opposition's loyalty to the party. It is impossible to overestimate the *esprit de corps* of the older Communists. For twenty years they have worked, plotted and suffered together. They are the survivors of a whole generation of ardent revolutionaries who voluntarily sacrificed their youth; thousands were executed, thousands died in prison or exile. All or nearly all forewent pleasure and material well-being. The idea of splitting or even of weakening the party they had thus painfully built up was quite foreign to their mentality. Moreover, they could not even conceive of a life outside the Communist Party—for them that would be worse than the loss of citizenship to a Roman Patrician. On the other side, it was almost as difficult for Stalin to contemplate a future in which Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), Preobrazhensky, Smilga and others who had been Lenin's closest disciples should no longer be members of the Communist Party. What could have been done with them? Exile? Imprisonment? The idea was unthinkable. Some compromise must then be reached. For party unity must be restored.

PARTY DISCIPLINE SACRED

But here another grave difficulty arose. Party prestige must come out of the conflict unimpaired, and it must be shown that in any compromise party discipline had been fully respected. Nothing is more sacred than Communist Party discipline. It is the most solid institution in Russia, and Lenin doubtless had in mind the normal Russian incoherence when he built up this formidably impersonal machine. The Trotsky Opposition had disobeyed party rulings, had publicly set at defiance the party's Central Committee. If only because of the rank and file, there could be no trifling with that. The Opposition must sign and publish a repentant statement confessing the error of its ways. Policy and dogma merge into one another in Russian Com-

munist, but discipline is more important than either. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that both Stalin and Trotsky and their friends are all determined Communists. In reality the quarrel is essentially one of method and Lenin died too soon to give definite indications on the points at issue. The Administration, acutely conscious of this and afraid of splitting the party, did not risk attempting to force the Opposition to retract its opinions—that is, its criticisms of the Administration—once its leaders had surrendered to party discipline. Indeed, in their public apology they were able to declare not only that they held to their viewpoint on policy, but also that they were "confident that whatever is correct in our opinions will end by being adopted by the party." The Administration did force them to withdraw their claim to form separate groupings for expressing their opinions even within the party—again a question of discipline.

That the surrender of the Opposition to party discipline was not as complete as desired by the Administration, was indicated by the publication of an editorial by *Pravda* on Dec. 15, 1926, denouncing the Opposition and demanding that the Opposition leaders choose whether to yield to party discipline or not. In the same issue, however, appeared a report of a speech by M. Kamenev, insisting on the rightness of the Opposition attitude. This speech, and the previous speeches made by Trotsky and Zinoviev, form a complete series, in which the three leaders of the international revolutionary movement show themselves to be honestly preoccupied by the present "nationalist" Russian policy, and the tendency to concentrate attention on the East, rather than on the West. All three are essentially "Westerners" and Internationalists, as Lenin was a Westerner and Internationalist until General Weygand drove the Bolshevik armies back from Warsaw. That defeat was the real turning point which set Russian eyes looking Eastward in the pendulum-like movement that has characterized Russian expansion policy during the last hundred years.

One point to be considered is the disastrous effect of this controversy upon the

policy of economic collaboration with the rest of the world. The Opposition brings this growing collaboration forward to support its thesis. Meanwhile the quarrel tends to confuse and disconcert the foreign concessionaires now operating in Russia.

Whatever may be the outcome, an absolute "one-party system" does not seem permanently possible in Communist Russia, except in a state of war or under the virtual dictatorship of some quite overpowering personality like Lenin's. It is idle to speculate as to the final settlement of this Opposition problem, but there can be little doubt that some solution will be ultimately found whereby reasonable criticism and debate will be permitted. There may even come some alteration in the tenure of executive office by authorized

groups *within the Communist Party*. For the moment just what compromise has been reached between the Administration and the Opposition is not quite clear. Some of the Opposition leaders may, as a result of their capitulation, resume their place in the executive Government of the country. But it is probable that they will rather continue to perform within the Communist Party the function of a constitutional Opposition in other lands—the candid but not altogether unfriendly critic.

One thing at least may be taken for granted: as a party split did not come this time, it is unlikely that it will occur in the future. Its dangers were all too evident, and the leaders of both sides in the controversy saw them plainly, if only at the eleventh hour.

Constitution of the Russian Communist Party

By JEROME DAVIS

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FOR the first time the details of the Russian Communist Party Constitution are published in America. I have translated the entire document, so that any one really desiring to know the facts can study them for himself. It should be borne in mind that the Communist Party has a long record of revolutionary activity stretching back as far as 1872 and that today it boasts over 1,000,000 members, in addition to 2,000,000 younger adherents who belong to the youth organization, the *Komsomol*.

Whether the Bolsheviks are "dangerous enemies of society" or regarded as the "saviors of humanity," the facts should be known before judgment is pronounced. A smaller group of impartial thinkers consider that the Bolsheviks are just human beings, but with a different background. In that case, they need a fair chance to work out their experiment unhampered by

outside interference. The Bolsheviks are hammering out something new in the history of political control. Their experiment deserves study, not hostile armies; intelligent criticism, not damning epithets.

A careful reading of this Constitution will show Americans why there are so few members of the party. If in America to belong to the Republican or Democratic Party meant securing five written recommendations, serving a probationary candidateship and paying from 2 to 5 per cent. of one's salary into the party treasury, all in addition to doing a great deal of voluntary party work, there might not be so many more than a million enrolled members in our own country.

The first chapter shows clearly that it is much easier for workers to become Communists than for any other class. They have to secure only two recommendations from party members of one year's stand-

ing and work as candidates but six months. On the other hand, the intellectuals have to have five letters from party members of five years' standing and work as candidates for two long years.

Any one writing a letter of recommendation for a new member who is later found to be unworthy can be severely punished or expelled from the party. To keep the ranks free from hypocrites, the Constitution provides that any one can be expelled at any time by a majority vote of the party organization to which he belongs, provided it is confirmed by the district control commission.

In this document for the first time we have unfolded before us the entire structure of the Russian Communist Party, from its base in the party nucleus or cell described in Chapter X through the various district organizations until we reach the heart of the mechanism in the Party Congress and its elective organ, the political bureau. It is this centralization which the Bolsheviks describe so proudly as the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Here we learn of the difference between the central revision commission, which audits the finances and checks the speed and accuracy of the work in the party organs, and the control commission, which functions to stop violations of party laws, oftentimes by clearing the ranks of unworthy members.

Americans have always suspected that party discipline was strict, but Chapter XIII tells us just exactly what that means.

In Chapter XIV we learn of the heavy dues that Communist members pay. We still cannot be sure how great or how frequent are special extra assessments, but if we reckon on the basis of an average of 3 per cent. of the maximum salary allowance (\$112.50) the million members would contribute about \$40,000,000 each year. This is probably much more than is actually received, because large numbers must be receiving wages very much below the maximum.

In the final chapter we have the instructions to members who are working in non-party organizations, urging them to gain as much control over the key positions as possible.

The intelligent American who reads over

this Constitution will find nothing very dangerous in it. To be sure, power is centralized, but it is done in a legal manner. In our own party organizations, one man is frequently the dictator, actually deciding who is to be nominated for office and even what laws are to be passed, and all this may be done without legalized precedent. In the Russian Communist Party the Constitution lays down the regulations, beyond which no one can really go without finding himself in difficulty.

The strongest objection against the document is that it centres so much power in the hands of the party centre and does not give an opportunity for the discussion of a minority position once the matter has been settled by those in control. The only justification for this law is the one which Stalin gave to me: "In a land where large numbers of the peasants are illiterate and have grown up under one of the most brutal forms of despotism that the world has ever seen, there has to be a certain measure of dictatorship. In the transition period to a genuine socialistic republic what is supremely needed is not that the party shall become a debating club, but that it shall be a constructive working organization of achievement."

The text of the Constitution of the Russian All-Union Communist Party follows:

I. PARTY MEMBERSHIP

1. Every one who subscribes to the party program, works in one of its organizations, submits to party decisions and pays membership dues is considered a party member.

2. New members are accepted from among applicants on probation who have passed a course in political grammar and have been applicants on probation for a certain time.

3. The order for the admission of applicants on probation to party membership is as follows:

(a) There are three categories: (1) Workers and Red Army soldiers who come from the workers and peasant classes; (2) peasants (other than soldiers), private handicraftsmen who are not exploiting another's labor; (3) all others (office employes, and so forth).

The first category is divided into two groups:

To the first group belong the industrial workers who are permanently engaged in physical hired labor.

To the second group belong non-industrial workers, soldiers from the workers and peasant classes and hired hands in agriculture.

(b) For admission into the party of persons belonging to the first group of the first category it is necessary to have two recommendations of party members of one year's standing. For admission of persons belonging to the second group of the first category two recom-

mendations of members of two years' standing are required. For admission of persons belonging to the second category three recommendations of members of three years' standing are required. For admission of persons belonging to the third category five recommendations of party members of five years' standing are required.

ANNOTATION: For admission to the party from the *Komsomol* (the Communist Youth Organization) in the first and second categories a recommendation of a committee of that organization equals that of one party member.

(c) Persons who previously were members of some other party are accepted in exceptional cases on the recommendation of five party members of five years' standing, and then only through the occupational nucleus, a confirmation by the Central Committee being necessary, no matter what their social position.

ANNOTATION: The Central Committee may give the right of final ratification of the admission of those who come from other parties to separate territorial party committees and to the central committees of national Communist parties. [Communist parties of the various non-Russian nationalities within the U. S. S. R.—Translator.]

(d) Recommendations must be verified by the local party committee before admission.

(e) The question of admission into the party is discussed first by the nucleus then it is decided by a general meeting of the organization, and finally the admission enters into force upon ratification by a party committee; for the first category that of the county (*uyezd*) or precinct (*rayon*) committee (in cities and industrial centres); for the second and third categories that of the district (*okrug*) or provisional (*gubernia*) committee. In the present organizations of the cities the question of admission into the party is decided by a general meeting of party members. In the case of a city precinct having more than 1,000 members and applicants on probation the admission is valid if passed on by the plenary meeting of the precinct committee without the sanction of a general meeting.

(f) Young people under 20 (with the exception of Red Army soldiers) are admitted to the party only through the *Komsomol*.

3. Those who propose new members are responsible for the members recommended. In case of an unworthy recommendation they are subject to party discipline, even to exclusion from the party.

4. The party-age standing of applicants on probation who are accepted for membership in the party is calculated from the day of the ratification of their admission by the general meeting of the corresponding nucleus.

5. Every member of one organization going to work in the region of another is to be enrolled as a member of the latter.

ANNOTATION: The transfer of party members from one organization to another is accomplished in conformity with the regulations of the Central Committee of the party.

6. The question of exclusion of any one from the party is decided by the general meeting of the organization to which the particular person belongs and ratified by the provincial (or district) control commission, or it is decided directly by the provincial (or district) control commission in the first instance. The resolution of exclusion becomes valid only with the

consent of the provincial (or district) committee. From the moment of exclusion by the general meeting or by the central commission the person involved is removed from party work. Every case of exclusion must be published in the party papers, with a statement of the cause for exclusion.

II. APPLICANTS ON PROBATION

7. All persons desiring to enter the party must pass through a period during which they are applicants on probation in order that they may become acquainted with the program and tactics of the party and that their personal qualities may be verified.

8. The order for admission of a person as applicant on probation follows exactly the same procedure as for acceptance into the party (division into categories, character of recommendations and their verification, the decision of the organization concerning admission and the ratification by the party committee).

9. The regular term for an applicant on probation is as follows: For the first category not less than six months, for the second category not less than one year and for the third category not less than two years.

ANNOTATION: Persons previously belonging to other parties, no matter what their social position, must first be applicants on probation for two years.

10. Applicants on probation may take part in the deliberations at open meetings of the organization to which they belong, but are not entitled to vote.

11. Applicants must pay the usual membership dues to the local party committee.

III. THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

12. The directive principle of the organizational structure of the party is democratic centralization.

13. The party is built upon the foundation of democratic centralization according to territorial authority. The organization serving any given region is considered supreme in relation to all organizations serving but a part of that region.

14. All party organizations are autonomous in deciding local questions.

15. The supreme directive organ of every organization is the general meeting, conference or congress.

16. The general meeting, conference or congress elects a committee, which is its executive organ and administers all the current work of the local organization.

17. The scheme of party organizations is as follows:

(a) The area of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

The All-Union Congress.

The Central Committee.

(b) Regions (*oblast*), republics, provinces (*gubernia*):

Regional (territorial) conferences, congresses of the national Communist parties, provincial conferences.

Regional committees (territorial committees), central committees of the national Communist parties, provincial committees.

(c) Districts (*okrug*), counties (*uyezd*):
District or county conferences.
District or county committees.

(d) Townships of villages (or city precincts):

Township (or precinct) conferences.
Township (or precinct) committees.

(e) Enterprises, villages, Red Army units, institutions:

General meetings of nuclei.
Bureaus of the nuclei.

18. The order of subordination, rendering of accounts, adopting and disputing of all party decisions, from the supreme body to the lowest, is the following: The All-Union Congress, the Central Committee, the regional (or territorial) conferences, the regional (or territorial) committee, conferences of national Communist parties, central committees of national Communist parties, provincial conferences, and so forth.

19. For special forms of party work there are special sections. These sections are attached to committees to which they are directly subordinated. The procedure of organizing such sections is determined by special instructions of the Central Committee.

20. Every organization, after being finally confirmed, has the right to have its own seal, but only with the sanction of the proper higher party organization.

IV. CENTRAL PARTY INSTITUTIONS

21. The supreme organ of the party is the congress. Regular congresses are convoked every year. Extraordinary congresses are convoked by the Central Committee on its own initiative or on the demand of not less than one-third of the total number of members represented at the last party congress. The call for party congresses, as well as their programs, must be announced not later than one and one-half months before the opening of the congress. An extraordinary congress is convoked two months after it is announced.

The congress is considered lawful if there are in attendance not less than one-half of all the party members represented at the last regular congress.

The rules for representation at party congresses are fixed by the Central Committee.

22. In case the extraordinary congress is not called by the Central Committee, as set forth in No. 21, the organizations demanding it have the right to form an organizing committee which has the rights of the Central Committee in convening the congress.

23. The Congress (a) hears and ratifies the reports of the Central Committee, the central control commission, central revision commission and other central institutions; (b) reviews and revises the program and statutes of the party; (c) determines the tactical line of the party in regard to current questions; (d) elects a Central Committee, a central control commission, a central revision commission, and so forth.

24. The composition of the Central Committee is established by the Congress. In case of vacancies in the Central Committee their places are taken by alternates elected by the Congress according to rules established by it.

25. In the interval between congresses the Central Committee directs the entire work of the party, represents the party in its relations with other parties, organizations and institutions, organizes various party institutions and directs their activities, names the editors of the central organs, which are working under its control, confirms the editors of party organs of large local organizations, organizes

and conducts those undertakings having public significance, distributes the personnel and the finances of the party and supervises the central treasury.

Through the various party sections the Central Committee directs the work of central, soviet and public organizations.

The Central Committee must have not less than one plenary meeting (open to all its members) every two months.

Alternate members of the Central Committee can take part in these meetings with the right of a consultative voice (the floor).

26. The Central Committee organizes for political work a political bureau, for general administrative organization work an organizing bureau, and for the current work of organization and execution a secretariat.

27. Once in the interval between party congresses the Central Committee convokes an All-Union party conference of representatives of local party organizations.

28. The Central Committee must regularly inform the party organizations of its work.

29. The number of members elected to the central control commission is established by the Party Congress.

30. The number elected to the central revision committee is fixed by the Party Congress, but all members must be of at least ten years' party standing.

The central revision commission checks up:
(a) The speed and proper procedure of handling matters in the central party organs and the proper organization of the apparatus of the secretariat of the All-Russian Central Committee of the Communist Party; (b) the treasury and the undertakings of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

V. THE (OBLAST) REGIONAL (OR TERRITORIAL) ORGANIZATIONS

31. Party organizations, with the permission of the Central Committee, may unite into regional unions. The borders of a region (a territory) are fixed by the regional (territorial) conferences and are confirmed by the Central Committee.

32. Party organizations serving the territory of national republics and autonomous areas of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are on the same plane as regional (or provincial) party organizations; i. e., they are entirely subordinate to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

33. The regional (or territorial) committee for the central committee of a national communist party is elected at the regional (territorial) conference (or at the congress of the national communist party).

ANNOTATION: Presidiums or bureaus of territorial committees as well as committees of equal standing are to be ratified by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

34. According to a special decision of the Central Committee, in places where there are regional economic organs (economic councils and so forth), or in regions distant from the centre, special regional bureaus shall be established and appointed by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, which also determines the number of members.

Regional bureaus of the Central Committee are responsible only to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

35. The periodical regional (territorial) conference (or congress of the national communist party) is convoked by the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) once a year; the extraordinary conference is convoked according to the decision of the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) or on demand of one-third of the whole number of members of organizations included in the region (territory).

The rules regarding representatives at the regional (territorial) conference (or congress of a national communist party) are fixed by the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party).

The regional (territorial) conference (or congress of a national communist party) hears and ratifies reports of the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party), of the control commission, the revision commission and other regional (territorial) institutions; discusses questions concerning the party, soviet, trade union and economic work in its particular region (territory) or republic, and elects the regional (territorial) committee as well as the regional (territorial) control and revision commissions (or central committee, central control commission, central revision commission of a national communist party).

36. The regional (territorial) committee elects from its membership a bureau of not less than five persons for its current work.

The regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) organizes various party institutions within its territory, directs their activity, appoints the editor of the regional (territorial) party organ, which works under its control, directs and manages all the party enterprises having a general importance for the region (territory), distributes within the limits of the particular region (territory) the personnel and appropriations of the party and superintends the regional (territorial) party treasury. The regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) directs through party fractions the activity of the organs of the soviets, trade unions, cooperatives and other organizations; it also directs the work of the *Komsomol* (the Communist Youth Organization) and presents detailed reports of its activities at the time and in the form fixed by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

A plenary meeting of the regional (territorial) committee (or the central committee of a national communist party) is convoked not less than once in two months.

VI. THE (GUBERNIA) PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

37. The regular provincial party conference is convoked by the provincial committee at least once a year. Extraordinary conferences are convoked by decision of the provincial committee or by one-third of the entire number of members of organizations within the province.

Provincial conferences hear and ratify the reports of the provincial committees, of the provincial control commission, the revision commission and other provincial institutions. They discuss questions concerning the party, soviet, economic and trade union work in that particular province, elect the provincial

committee, the provincial control and revision commissions and delegates to the All-Union Congress.

38. The provincial committee is elected by the conference; in the committee must be included workers of the chief city, as well as of other large industrial centres of that particular province.

The provincial committee is convoked at least once a month. This same committee appoints out of its number not less than five persons to make up a bureau to do its current work. Of these not less than three must be detailed for party work only.

The secretary of a provincial committee must have had at least seven years' party standing and must have been confirmed by a higher party centre (only with the authorization of this latter body may the party standing be lowered).

39. The provincial committee confirms all the county and precinct organizations of its own area, with the sanction of the regional (territorial) committees or the Central Committee, organizes various party institutions within its own area, directs their activities, appoints the editor of the provincial organ working under its control, organizes all its enterprises of provincial scope, distributes within the province the personnel and the financial resources of the party and has charge of the provincial treasury.

The provincial committee directs through its fractions the activity of soviets, trade unions, cooperative unions and other organizations, and directly supervises the work of the *Komsomol* (Communist Youth Organization). The provincial committee presents reports to the Central Committee of all its activity at such times and in such form as is decreed by the Central Committee. Regional committees of autonomous republics and of autonomous areas are on an equality with provincial committees.

40. In periods between conferences, provincial committees periodically furnish informational reports to the general meeting or conference of city or county organizations. Moreover, they have to convoke enlarged plenary meetings or provincial conferences of the representatives of the county committees and precinct committees (which are directly subordinate to the provincial committees).

41. In chief provincial cities precinct organizations with the rights of county organizations are established if necessary; they are directly subordinate to the provincial committee.

VII. THE (OKRUG) DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

42. The district party conference is called by the district party committee at least once a year. An extraordinary conference is called upon the decision of the district committee or according to the decision of one-third of the total number of organizations included in the district.

The district conference hears and ratifies reports of the district committee, of the control and revision commissions and other district institutions, elects the district committee, the control and revisions commissions and delegates to the All-Union Party Congress.

43. Among the members of the district committee elected by the conference must be included workers of the chief district city, as well as of other large industrial centres of the district.

44. The district committee must be called at least once a month. The district committee appoints from its members a bureau of not less than five members to carry on the current work. Of these not less than three persons must be appointed exclusively for party work.

The secretary of the district committee must have five years' party standing, and his appointment must be ratified by a higher party body (only with the assent of the latter can a person of less party standing be appointed).

45. The district committee confirms precinct organizations and party nuclei. (Precinct organizations must afterward be ratified by the regional-territorial-committees or by the Central Committees of the national communist parties.) It organizes various party institutions within the limits of the district and directs their activities and appoints the editor of the district party organ working under its direction and control. It organizes all the enterprises of district scope, distributes within its borders the personnel and appropriations of the party and superintends the district treasury. The district committee directs, through the appropriate fractions, the activity of soviets, trade unions, cooperatives and other bodies and directly guides the work of the *Komsomol* (Communist Youth Organization). The district committee submits reports to the regional (territorial) committee (or to the Central Committee of a national Communist Party) of all its activities at such time and in such form as is decreed by the Central Committee.

46. In periods between conferences the district committee periodically submits reports to the general meetings or conferences of city or precinct organizations. Moreover, the district committee is to convoke enlarged plenary meetings or district conferences of representatives of precinct committees and large nuclei (which are directly subordinate to the district committee).

47. In large district cities there may be created, with the authorization of the higher party committee, precinct organizations the same way as precinct committees of the chief provincial cities.

VIII. THE (UYEZD) COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS

48. The county conference hears and ratifies the reports made by the county committee, revision commission and the representative of the provincial control commission and discusses questions of party, soviet, economic and trade union activity of the county. It elects a committee, a revision commission and delegates to the provincial conference. The conference is convoked once in six months.

49. The county committee is elected by the county conferences. The county committee appoints from its membership a bureau consisting of not more than five to seven persons. Out of that number at least three workers must be freed from any activity except party work.

The Secretary of the county committee must have three years' party standing, and his nomination must be ratified by a higher party organ (the party standing of the Secretary may be lowered only with the authorization of the latter).

50. The county committee ratifies township and precinct organizations and the nuclei in the county subject to approval of the pro-

vincial committee. It organizes various party institutions within its territory, directs their activities, organizes all enterprises having county importance, convokes conferences of representatives of the township nuclei and superintends the county treasury of the party.

ANNOTATION: The county party committee is entitled to publish party literature and a party paper only with the authorization of the provincial committee.

51. The county committee directs, through party fractions, the work of the county executive committee, as well as that of trade union organizations, cooperatives and other bodies of its own county. It directs also the whole work of the *Komsomol* (the Communist Youth Organization).

IX. THE TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES OR, IN THE CITY, PRECINCT ORGANIZATIONS

52. The supreme organ in the township is the general meeting of the members of the party in that township.

ANNOTATION: In large townships (precincts) where the convocation of a general meeting of all the members presents difficulties it is permissible to substitute the township (precinct) conference for a general meeting. These conferences are convoked at least once in three months.

53. General township (or precinct) meetings are convoked at least once a month. The general meeting (a) decides questions regarding the admission and exclusion of party members, subject to ratification by the next higher party committee; (b) discusses and ratifies the report of the township (or precinct) committee; (c) elects the township (or precinct) committee; (d) elects the delegates for the county and other conferences, and (e) discusses and ratifies the reports of the fraction of the township (or precinct) executive committee. [An administrative soviet body.—Translator.]

54. The township (or precinct) committee is elected by the township (or precinct) party meeting or conference for a period of six months.

Secretaries of the township committees must have at least a year's party standing.

ANNOTATION: In townships where there are less than three rural nuclei the township committee is not organized. In that case the county committee has the right to require the nuclei of the township centres of those townships to execute some of the duties of the township organizations.

55. The township (or precinct) committee is convoked at least once every two weeks.

56. The township (or precinct) committee directs the work of all the organizations in the township (or precinct). It registers all the party members, organizes the distribution of literature, arranges for meetings, lectures, and so forth. It organizes new nuclei and presents them to the county (or district) committee for ratification, superintends the township (or precinct) party treasury and once each month sends a report of its activities to the county (or district) committee. It also directs, through the party fraction, the work of the township (or precinct) executive committee.

X. THE PARTY NUCLEI (CELLS)

57. The base of the party organization is the party nucleus. A nucleus is confirmed by a district, county or precinct committee and

must include not less than three party members.

58. In large enterprises, having a large number of workers, section nuclei may be organized always within the general factory nucleus which includes the entire enterprise. They may be organized in every case only with the authorization of the district, county or precinct committee.

59. Nuclei are organizations which join the workers and peasant masses with the directive organ of one particular place. The duties of a nucleus are (1) to carry the party rallying cries and decisions to the masses; (2) to recruit and educate new members; (3) to assist local committees in their organizing and propagandist work, and (4) to participate actively as a party organ in the economic and political life of the county.

60. For carrying on its current work the nucleus elects a bureau for six months.

The secretary of a nucleus must have at least one year's party standing. Exceptions to this rule are permissible only with the assent of the district (or county) or precinct committee (in cities).

XI. THE CONTROL COMMISSIONS

61. For the purpose of assisting the party in consolidating the unity and authority of the All-Union Communist Party, for recruiting the best part of the labor class for the party and to struggle against violations of the Communist program and constitution by members, as well as for the purpose of carrying through the party program in every respect in the activities of Soviet organs and for the purpose of working out measures for improving and simplifying the Soviet and economic apparatus control commissions are elected at the general party congress, as well as at conferences of regions, territories, provinces and districts, which submit reports about their activities to the organs by which they were elected.

ANNOTATION: District control commissions are organized with the authorization of the Central Committee and the central control commission of the All-Union Communist Party.

62. The decisions of the control commissions cannot be annulled by corresponding party committees; but in order to be valid they must be accepted by the latter, by which they are also put into effect.

In case of dissent the question is submitted to a joint meeting. In case an agreement with the committee cannot be reached the question is submitted for decision to a corresponding party conference or to the higher control commission or to the Party Congress.

A. The Central Control Commission

63. The central control commission is to be elected preferably from peasants and workers who have had the necessary party, Soviet, economic or industrial experience. Members of the central control commission named for work in the central organ of the central control commission or in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection must have at least ten years' party standing. Members of the central control commission working in local organs must have at least seven years' party standing; factory workers, as well as peasants, must have at least five years' party standing.

64. Members of the central control commission cannot be at the same time members of the Central Committee and cannot occupy an administrative or economic position.

ANNOTATION: Exceptions are permitted in each case on the special authorization of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and of the presidium of the central control commission.

65. A plenary meeting of the central control commission is convoked once in three months. For the administration of all current work during the period between these meetings the central control commission selects a presidium, consisting of twenty-one members, nine alternates and its executive organ, a secretariat. It also selects a party collegium of the central control commission, which is responsible for reviewing matters concerned with the violation of party ethics, the constitution and the program of the All-Union Communist Party.

66. Members of the central control commission participate in All-Union Party Congresses, in conferences of national communist parties, in territorial, provincial, district, county and other conferences, as well as in plenary meetings, conferences, sittings and other assemblies, with the right of a consultant voice. At the plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party only members and alternates of the presidium of the central control commission can participate. In case a joint plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the central control commission is called, the members of the central control commission take part with the right of a full vote.

The presidium of the central control commission delegates three members and three alternates to take part in the political bureau of the Central Committee and five members and five alternates to take part in the meetings of the organization bureau and of the secretariat of the Central Committee, with the right of a consultant voice.

67. The central control commission has the right to assign tasks within the limits of its jurisdiction to all the members of the party and party organizations.

B. The Control Commissions of National Communist Parties of Regional (Territorial), Provincial and District Organizations.

68. The number of members and alternates for the central control commission of national communist parties, of regional (territorial), provincial and district control commissions is fixed by the central control commission of the All-Union Communist Party, according to the strength of the organization, as well as the economics of the region and other peculiarities.

Members and alternates of control commissions are to be elected preferably from workers and peasants who have been the most loyal in their party relationships. In the case of central control commissions of a national communist party or of the regional (territorial) control commissions, the members must have at least seven years' party standing; in other control commissions, five years' party standing; all must have had an adequate knowledge of party, soviet and trade union work, so that they understand how to conduct effectively party and soviet control.

ANNOTATION: Exceptions are allowed with the permission of the presidium of the central control commission, as well as of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

69. Members of the control commission cannot be at one and the same time members

of party committees and they cannot occupy any responsible administrative position.

ANNOTATION: Exceptions are allowed with the permission of the central control commission of the All-Union Communist Party.

70. The plenum of the control commission elects a presidium and party collegium and proposes the members of the collegium of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

71. Members of the control commission and alternates participate in meetings of the corresponding plenum of the party committee, in party conferences and sittings, within the limits of their organization, with the right of a consultant voice.

The presidium of the control commission sends a part of its members to take part in the meetings of corresponding bureaus of the party committees with the right of a consultant voice.

72. In cases of disagreement between the decisions of the control commission and the party committee, the two bodies meet in joint session. If agreement is not reached, in the case of the central control commission of a national communist party or in the case of the regional (territorial) or provincial control commission when the latter is not subordinate to a central control commission of a national communist party or to a regional (territorial) control committee, the question goes to the central control commission of the All-Union Communist Party; for provincial and regional control commissions, subordinate to the central control commission of a national communist party or to a territorial control commission, the matter goes to the corresponding central control commission of a national communist party or to the regional (territorial) control commission.

73. The control commission is entitled to assign tasks within the limits of its jurisdiction to all the members of the party and to all party organizations.

C. The Representatives of the Control Commissions

74. In order to realize a direct and living relationship between the organs of the control commissions and the lower party organizations, as well as the large working and peasant masses, a body of representatives of the control commission in the district and county party organizations is created.

75. The representatives of the control commission are to be named by the district or county party conferences preferably from the workers and peasants who are the most consistent party workers, have at least five years' party standing and are ratified by the corresponding control commission.

ANNOTATION: It is desirable that the representatives should be named from members of the control commission.

76. In those regions which are considered as the largest and most important from the political and economic point of view the representatives of the control commission are freed from all other work except that of the party. In all other regions they can hold other offices simultaneously.

77. The representatives of the control commission have the right to take part in the meetings of the corresponding party committees, conferences, meetings and deliberations of control commissions, with the right of a consultant voice.

XII. THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE RED ARMY

78. The general administration of the party work in the Red Army and the Red Navy is done by the political department of the Workers and Peasants Red Army as the military department of the Central Committee. The political department of the Red Army carries on its work through specially appointed political sections (of fronts, army districts, navies, armies, divisions), army commissars and party commissions elected at the corresponding army conferences.

The nuclei and party collectives (meetings of party members who work together) in the Red Army and Navy work on the basis of special instructions confirmed by the Central Committee.

79. The chiefs of political departments of the military districts, navies and armies must have had seven years' party standing and the chiefs of political departments of divisions and brigades, four years' party standing.

80. Party commissions decide on questions of admission and exclusion of party members and applicants on probation and watch for violations of the program and articles of the party. Members of the commission must have had five years' party standing.

81. The appointment and transfer of party members and applicants on probation of the Red Army and Navy belong to corresponding political organs.

The regular course for reaching agreement with party organs as to the transfer of leading party workers within the Army (commanding and political personnel) is fixed by the instructions of the Central Committee.

82. Political organs are obliged to be in constant communication with the local party committee by means of constant participation in the local party committees by all the leaders of the political organs and the Army commissars, as well as by having systematic reports made to the party committees by the heads of the political organs and Army commissars about the political work in the various military units. The direction of the work of party commissions as to the admission of applicants on probation, advancement to party membership, the struggle against the violation of the party rules is carried on by local party committees and control commissions, by systematic hearing of reports about the organization of the work in the division and district party commissions and by giving them proper direction.

XIII. PARTY DISCIPLINE

83. The strongest party discipline is the first obligation of all party members and all party organizations. Decisions of the party centres must be fulfilled immediately and accurately. There is to be complete freedom for the discussion of all controversial questions within the party until a decision has been reached.

84. The non-fulfillment of decisions of higher organization and other offenses, recognized as criminal by the public opinion of the party, entail the following judgments: In the case of an organization—censure; the appointment of a temporary supervisory committee, and a general re-registration of the membership (dissolution of the organization). In the case of single members of the party, the judgments are: Some method of censure (reproof, reprimand, and so forth), public censure, temporary exclusion from responsible

party and soviet work, exclusion from the party, exclusion from the party with communication of his offense to the administrative and judicial authorities. Transfer to standing of applicant on probation as a party penalty is not allowed.

85. Delinquencies against discipline are discussed at the general meetings and by the control commissions according to the usual procedure and in the established order of jurisdiction.

XIV. THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE PARTY

86. The financial resources of the organization consist of membership dues, subsidies of the higher party organizations and other receipts.

87. Membership dues for party members and applicants on probation are fixed at not less than one-half of 1 per cent. of their wages. There are four categories of membership dues, depending upon the size of the salary. The first category pays one-half of 1 per cent., the second 1 per cent., the third 2 per cent. and the fourth 3 per cent.

88. Membership dues for those who receive an indefinite income, as, for instance, peasants, are fixed by local provincial committees.

89. The unemployed are completely freed from membership dues. The same refers to those who receive pensions (invalids and the aged).

90. There is a special entrance fee of 3 per cent. of the (monthly) wages for those who become applicants on probation, from which no one can be excused.

91. Party members and applicants on probation who have failed to pay their dues for three months without good cause are considered to have left the party. A report should be made of this to the general meeting.

92. The rules for collecting membership dues and party deductions are fixed by special instructions.

XV. FRACTIONS IN NON-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

93. In all congresses, conferences and elective organs (soviet, trade union, cooperative, and so forth), in which there are at least three members of the party, there shall be organized fractions, the purpose of which is generally to strengthen the influence of the party, to carry on its policy among the non-party people and to bring under party control the work of all the above-mentioned institutions and organizations.

For the current work of the fraction a bureau can be elected.

94. Whenever the party committee discusses questions related to a fraction, constituted within an organization, the latter is entitled

to send its representatives to the meeting, with the right of a consultative voice.

95. Fractions, no matter what their significance, are completely subordinate to the corresponding party organizations. On all questions on which there exist lawful decisions of corresponding party organizations, fractions are strictly obliged to comply with these decisions. The committee has the right to remove or to send into the fraction any member it desires, but it must let the fraction know its motives for doing so, and the recall and introduction of the new member must be in keeping with the constitution and the regulations of the non-party organ in connection with which the fraction works. The fraction has autonomy on questions of its own internal affairs and current work.

In case there is an essential disagreement between the party committee and the fraction concerning some question which is within the jurisdiction of the latter, the committee is obliged to discuss the question a second time with the representatives of the fraction and to adopt a final decision which must be carried out at once by the fraction.

96. For all more important positions within the organizations in which the fraction is working, candidates shall be proposed by the fraction, together with the corresponding party organization. The same applies to the transfer of individuals from one position to another.

97. All questions having a political importance and which must be discussed by the fraction must be discussed in the presence of representatives of the committee.

98. Questions which have to be decided in the non-party organization in which the fraction is working and which involve matters of principle, as well as all questions which necessitate a concerted action of the Communists, must be considered first in a general meeting or in the bureau of the fraction.

99. On every question which was decided in the fraction of any non-party organization, all the members of the fraction are obliged to vote solidly together in the general meeting of the organization in question. Those who violate this rule are subject to disciplinary measures, applied in the regular order in accordance with the constitution.

100. Fractions constituted in non-party organizations must not be in direct communication with fractions of any lower organs. In case any fraction finds it necessary to carry out its decision through the party channels, this must be done through the intermediation of the corresponding party committee (with the written authorization of the secretary of the committee and one member of the bureau of the fraction).



Colonel Thompson's Philippine Report

The Full Text

President Coolidge's message submitting Colonel Thompson's report to the Senate read:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to the Congress I referred to Colonel Carmi A. Thompson's survey, at my request, of conditions in the Philippine Islands.

I contemplated that in transmitting his report to the Congress I might wish to make more specific recommendations than those made in my annual message. I find, however, that the general line of his conclusions is in such close agreement with what is already recommended that this seems unnecessary, but on account of the interest in the text of Colonel Thompson's report and a desire to secure it, I am transmitting it herewith for the information of the Congress.

In my message I recited the fact that Governor Wood had administered his office as Governor General with tact and ability and to the advantage of the Filipino people. Many, although not all, of the recommendations contained in the report undoubtedly would meet with the approval of Governor General Wood, as they have been recommended by him in the past.

It will be noted that the report of Colonel Thompson is more candid and intimate than is the usual published report, but I have not felt that I should on that account withhold it from the Congress. Colonel Thompson has freely and fearlessly expressed his views on the Philippine situation. While I do not agree entirely with all his views and recommendations, I believe that the report is an excellent one and merits your careful consideration.

He went to the Philippine Islands as a volunteer. He gave his time. He paid a large sum for his own expenses. For all of this he is entitled to sincere thanks.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

The White House, Dec. 22, 1926.

The following is the full text of Colonel Thompson's report:

Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 4, 1926.

Mr. President:

In the Spring of 1926 you requested me to proceed to the Philippine Islands at the earliest possible date for the purpose of making a survey of conditions there and to report to you, making such suggestions as might occur to me, especially with reference to the administration and economic development of the islands. Subsequently you handed me the following letter of instructions:

"May 20, 1926.

"My dear Mr. Thompson:

"As you are leaving for the Philippines to make a survey and report to me on what I might possibly do to secure a better administration of affairs in the islands and a further development of their economic conditions, I am sending you this letter, which you are at liberty to present to Governor General Leonard Wood, with the request that he give you any assistance he can in meeting these

requirements. I suggest that if you have occasion to confer with Government officials you do so through General Wood as an intermediary.

"I have no doubt that he would also be pleased to arrange for you any meeting with private parties in the islands.

"I trust that you will find your journey comfortable and interesting, and that a benefit to the Filipino people and the American Government may be derived from it.

"With kindest regards, I am,

"Very truly yours,

"CALVIN COOLIDGE."

I sailed from Seattle on June 15, arriving in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, on July 9. My first action was to call upon Governor General Leonard Wood, to whom I presented your letter.

For the ensuing three months, lacking five days, I spent my time in traveling throughout the islands and in interviewing representative Americans and Filipinos in Manila and elsewhere. On Oct. 4 I sailed from Manila, stopping in China and Japan for the purpose of studying general economic and political conditions in those countries as they are related to the Philippine Islands. I arrived in Seattle on Nov. 19.

This report is based upon information gathered from personal observations; from conferences with representative Americans and Filipinos; from speeches, memorials, petitions and various other written documents, and from reports and statistical data prepared by the executive departments of the Philippine Government and the American Trade Commissioner in Manila. I have summarized this material in a memorandum which is herewith submitted as a supplement to this report.

Fundamental Need of the Philippines

It became apparent to me early in my inquiry that the political problem is the fundamental problem in the Philippines. The political and the economic elements of the situation in the islands are so inextricably bound together that it will be impossible to bring about any economic development there before the political status of the archipelago has been settled finally or for a long time to come.

Although the Philippines have vast natural resources and remarkable advantages in geographical location, soil, climate, timber, mineral deposits and water power, the development of which would make it a land of wealth and prosperity, they lack capital and business energy.

They can obtain capital in considerable amounts only from external sources, and for some time, at least, a part of the business energy without which capital is useless must come from abroad. Under the present conditions of political turmoil and uncertainty outside capital and business energy are not attracted to the Philippines, and the Filipinos discourage their entry into the islands on the ground that it would lead to economic exploitation and permanent political domination of their country by Americans.

Business in the islands is practically at a

standstill. Not only is it impossible to obtain new capital, but many existing investments are regarded as unsafe.

In some of the more essential enterprises, such as the erection and operation of sugar centrals, the mining of coal and the manufacture of cement, the Philippine Government has sought to stimulate economic development by supplying the necessary capital. These ventures were inefficiently managed, with the result that the Government suffered heavy losses.

Philippine labor is without sufficient employment and is emigrating to Hawaii, the United States and other countries. Eighty-five per cent. of the land is still public domain, most of it original forest. Although the Philippines contain large areas of unused land, which could be converted into the finest rice fields in the Orient, lack of production commands the importation of a part of the country's requirements of this staple food.

Further development of the islands through education, public health agencies and the construction of roads, port facilities, irrigation works and other aids to business and agriculture is made virtually impossible by the lack of adequate national revenue; and the Government cannot materially increase its revenue until the taxable wealth of the islands has become much greater than it now is.

In this situation the fundamental need in the Philippines is the solution of the political problem in such a way as to assure the existence for a considerable period of time of a government which will be reasonably favorable to economic development and financial investment and which will inspire confidence on the part of investors.

Philippine Independence

The political problem has two principal phases: First, a widespread and insistent agitation for immediate, absolute and complete independence; second, a deadlock between the Governor General and the Legislature.

Complete independence is impossible now and for a long time to come, for the following reasons:

1. The Philippines lack the financial resources necessary to maintain an independent Government. The revenue derived from taxation in 1925 amounted to 88,507,000 pesos (\$41,253,500).

This would not be enough to enable an independent Philippine Government to meet those expenses from which the Philippines are now relieved—those of an army, navy, diplomatic corps, a Consular service and other establishments—entirely aside from the cost of maintaining the existing departments and of carrying on essential internal activities, such as public education, sanitation, irrigation and road building. New sources of taxation cannot be found until the natural resources of the country are more fully developed.

The poverty of the Filipinos as a whole is illustrated by the fact that practically all of the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine Government is held by citizens of the United States, who bought the securities relying upon the continuance of American sovereignty over the islands, only a small part of these securities being held by Filipinos.

The financial weakness of the Philippines makes it almost a certainty that these bonds would greatly depreciate in value should immediate independence be granted, and eventually they might become worthless. If the pay-

ment of these bonds were made a prerequisite to independence the Philippine Government would have no means with which to redeem them.

2. Because they lack a common language, and for other reasons, the Filipinos do not have the homogeneity and solidarity which are prime requisites of a strong democratic nation. Eight principal dialects are spoken in different parts of the islands, most of the common people of each group being unable to communicate with those of the other groups. The members of the so-called ruling class throughout the islands are able to communicate with each other in Spanish or English.

This group, however, constitutes but a small proportion of the people. Such a gulf as exists between the upper and lower classes in the Philippines is unknown in America. This gulf is so wide that no genuinely popular government is possible until the position of the masses of the Filipino people has been raised by education and economic improvement, and until a common second language of the masses has been established.

This common language should be English. Were the United States to grant independence before these conditions are corrected, the Government might become an oligarchy or the Philippines might be split up into warring factions led by chieftains of the various language groups.

The bitter religious and other differences between the Mohammedan Moros and Christian Filipinos might also accentuate the danger of civil strife should independence be granted at this time.

The controlling public opinion which is necessary for the support of a democracy does not now exist in the Philippines, nor can it till the daily and other vital organs of public opinion are very much more widely circulated and read than they are at present.

From the standpoint of American commercial interests in the Far East, it would be unwise to relinquish control of the Philippines at the present time. Our trade with the Orient has been expanding yearly and all indications point to an increased volume of business for the future.

We need the Philippines as a commercial base, and the retention of the Philippines will otherwise be of great benefit to our Eastern situation.

5. Abandonment of the Philippines at this time might complicate international relations in the Orient.

6. The granting of complete and immediate independence would end the free trade relationship between the United States and the Philippines. This and other resulting conditions would bring about economic disaster for the Philippines. The sugar industry would not be able to compete with Cuba and other countries nearer to the American market.

The cocoanut oil, tobacco and many other industries would be affected in like manner. The Filipino people, who under free trade with America have been taught the benefits of higher standards of living than they previously enjoyed, would be forced to compete with other Orientals having a much lower standard of living. Such competition would, without doubt, have an adverse effect upon them and upon political and other conditions in the islands.

The independence propaganda might give those unfamiliar with political methods the impression that the Filipinos will not be satis-

fied with anything less than complete independence, which would mean an entirely independent Filipino nation.

During my stay in the islands I sought every opportunity to obtain the private opinions of Filipino political leaders and business men on this subject. I believe that no leader, either in politics or business, expects independence for a long time to come. I learned that all Filipinos, with the exception of a small radical minority, really hope for an ultimate settlement of their relations with the United States on a basis which would eventually give them complete autonomy in internal affairs, but with the United States directing all foreign relations.

The Governor General and the Legislature

The second phase of the political problem in the Philippines is the breach between the Governor General and the Legislature. This breach has reached the stage where the legislative branch of the Government has, or claims to have, lost faith in the executive branch of the Government, and the executive branch appears to have no confidence in the leaders of the Legislature.

Consequently, no constructive legislation is possible. The conclusion of the legislative memorial addressed to you and unanimously adopted by another session of the Legislature on the day of my departure from Manila reads as follows:

"With respect to the relations between the Executive and the Legislature, the present situation is unsatisfactory. The facts which have given rise to this state of affairs are of common knowledge and have been submitted to the President of the United States. Hence it is unnecessary to relate them again. So long as the causes which have created those difficulties remain it is not to be expected that the situation will improve. The plan to enlarge the powers of the Governor General, far from relieving conditions, would only aggravate them."

The lack of cooperation between the Governor General and the Legislature since their break in 1923 has caused the Senate to refuse confirmation of many appointments made by him, and the Legislature has rejected many recommendations designed to improve the administration of government and to develop the economic resources of the country. During the period of this break very little constructive legislation has been passed, with the exception of the annual Appropriations and Public Works bill.

On the other hand, the Governor General has vetoed many bills passed by the Legislature. Some of these measures were passed with the apparent intention of furthering the independence movement and limiting the powers of the Chief Executive. Others dealt with the ordinary affairs of government.

In some cases the Legislature has repassed bills over the Executive veto, with the evident intention of bringing the controversy to the attention of the President. Apparently this deadlock will exist as long as the present conditions continue.

Responsibility for the friction appears to be divided between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government. The Legislature and its leaders have consistently sought to exercise powers vested in the Governor General by the organic act of 1916, the fundamental law of the Philippine Islands.

Many of these powers were virtually abandoned to them by the Executive who preceded General Wood in office, and they have stubbornly contested General Wood's efforts to regain and exercise them.

It may be noted that in the contest with the Legislature and its leaders the Governor General has been supported by the proper authorities in Washington.

On the other hand, the military atmosphere of the present Administration has been unfortunate in its reactions upon the Filipino leaders. The Governor General, himself a distinguished soldier, is surrounded by a group of American army officers, who serve as assistants, aides and confidential advisers. These officers have excellent military records, but evidently lack training and experience in the duties of civil government and in dealing with legislative bodies and civilian officials.

Instead of facilitating cooperation between the Governor General on the one hand and the Filipino heads of the executive departments and the legislative leaders on the other, this group has been one of the factors which have made such cooperation difficult. This situation gives the Filipino leaders an opportunity to protest that the islands are under militaristic rule. On the whole, General Wood is to be commended for his efficient conduct of affairs during his Administration.

The Governor General maintains that under the present system he can secure American advisers only from the War Department, under whose supervision the islands have been governed since American occupation, and that these advisers are, therefore, necessarily, army officers.

The Philippines may have presented a military problem in the early days of American sovereignty, but internal problems of the islands are now primarily those of civil administration and economic development. I found no evidence of any anti-Americanism which would necessitate military control. Provided that we avoid exploitation in our conduct toward the Filipinos, there seems to be no danger of sedition or insurrection.

My observations lead me to believe the people would be more contented and less inclined toward unrest under a more purely civil administration.

In the past there has been no coordination between the Government of the Philippines and that of our other overseas possessions.

The transfer of the administration of all these overseas possessions to a special insular bureau in one of our civil departments, or to an independent establishment reporting directly to the President, would unquestionably produce increased efficiency in their management and would tend toward a reduction of friction in the Philippine Islands.

The fundamental obligations of the United States with reference to the Philippines are clear. America must not abandon these islands to the risks of an independent existence without reasonable preparation to meet the economic competition or the political aggression of stronger nations.

We must not drop the task which we assumed a quarter of a century ago until we have satisfied ourselves that the Filipinos are fully prepared for complete self-government. Nor should we take from the Filipino people their aspiration to govern themselves whenever they are able to stand erect as an inde-

pended people, a condition of which the United States must be the final judge.

The United States should not be swerved from these purposes either by Americans who may desire to exploit the Philippines or by Filipinos who are demanding a premature relinquishment of American sovereignty over the islands.

However, while we are preparing the Philippines for self-government, we should not reduce the internal autonomy which they have already been granted, unless their conduct should make this step necessary. Our policy should be gradually to extend autonomy in internal affairs in accordance with the capability of the Filipinos to shoulder these responsibilities.

We should convince the Filipinos by our conduct that we will not exploit and will not permit others to exploit the natural resources of the country, but will facilitate and expedite the growth of a strong, united nation with sufficient development of its natural wealth to insure a revenue great enough to provide for the proper functions of government.

With this end in view, steps should be taken at once to restore the confidence of the Filipinos in our good faith in order that there may be complete cooperation between the two peoples and the two Governments.

Pending Congressional Legislation

The Christian Filipinos are unanimously opposed to the measures now pending before Congress known as the Kiess bills, Nos. 1 and 2, and the Bacon bill. I question the wisdom of giving greater power to the Insular Auditor, an American, as provided for in Kiess bill No. 1. However, his authority may need to be clarified.

Kiess bill No. 2 provides that the revenue derived from the tax on Philippine tobaccos sold in the United States shall be transferred from the general funds of the Philippine Government and expended for certain general purposes at the discretion of the Governor General.

It seems to be unquestionable that this money, which is a part of the revenue of the United States, should be appropriated by Congress in the same way that other public moneys are appropriated, instead of being conveyed into the general treasury of the Philippine Government. It is not advisable, however, to place this sum in the hands of the Governor General to be expended at his discretion.

If Congress desires to present this sum to the Philippine Islands for the benefit of the Filipino people it should appropriate the money in such a way as to provide for its expenditure, under the direction of the Governor General, for specific purposes in the same manner as other appropriations are made.

I know of nothing which would shake the confidence of the Christian Filipinos in the good faith of the United States more than the passage of an act which might permanently segregate the southern islands from the remainder of the Philippine Archipelago. The opponents of the Bacon bill say the passage of this bill would produce that result.

Furthermore, it is my conviction that the Southern islands of the Philippines should not be permanently separated from the rest of the archipelago. Their unoccupied lands afford a necessary outlet for the rapidly increasing

population of the islands to the north and their natural wealth is very essential to the upbuilding of the strong Philippine nation which it is the purpose of both Filipino people and the United States to establish.

It should be pointed out in this connection, however, that the granting of independence at the present time would necessitate the separation of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago from the rest of the islands unless the United States were to break faith with the Moros.

The Moros, unconquered by Filipinos or Spaniards, surrendered to the Americans upon receiving what they believed to be a solemn promise on the part of the United States to protect them from the Filipino rule. The obligation of this promise should be met.

It is inevitable, however, that during the ensuing years the Moros shall come into more intimate contact with Western Christian civilization; and while this contact should be made under active American direction and control, the purpose of the Philippine Government to induce the Moros to become willing members of a united Filipino people should be respected and, so far as possible, furthered.

At the present time conditions in the Moro provinces, especially Lanao, are so bad that the control and direction of their Governments should be placed in American hands. So far as is necessary and practicable, the Filipino civil officials and military forces in the Moro country should be replaced by Americans and Moros.

When peace and order have been restored and passions which at present run high have somewhat subsided, the United States should seek to reach a solution of this very delicate and difficult question which will serve the best interests of all concerned.

Economic Possibilities of the Philippines

When the way has opened for the solution of the fundamental political problems of the Philippines it may be confidently expected that capital will be forthcoming and development will be rapid. The islands have great possibilities in mining, and industry will probably develop sufficiently to supply many of the needs of the people.

This is looking into the far distant future, however, because agricultural development must always precede the growth of an industrial system. Agriculture will be the principal occupation of the Filipinos for many years to come.

After the introduction of capital the island should carry on a large export business in commodities which the United States cannot produce in sufficient quantities for our requirements, or at all. And while the Philippine market should not be limited to the United States, we will be the natural outlet for a large proportion of their products.

Besides the principal items now raised, such as rice, tobacco, sugar, copra and hemp, the Philippines, within a comparatively short time, should be able to supply the United States with a large part of its requirements of rubber, coffee, camphor, pineapples, lumbang, hardwood lumber and many other tropical commodities.

Camphor, coffee, pineapples and lumbang are especially desirable as crops for the small farmer. Once the market is established, little capital and no extensive machinery are required. Expert foresters say that the Philippine timber is 100 years overripe and is now

deteriorating, so that it should be cut and marketed in order to provide an opportunity for a new stand.

The camphor and coffee required by the United States are now monopolies in the hands of foreign Governments, but could be grown in sufficient quantities in the Philippines to supply the entire American market, or at least to insure protection against exorbitant prices based upon export duties levied abroad.

Rubber has, perhaps, been the Philippine product uppermost in the minds of the American and the Filipino people for the past two years. The trees from which rubber is obtained grow wild in many parts of the southern islands, but it is only during the last twenty years that efforts have been made to cultivate it.

On the largest plantation in the Philippines, that of the American Rubber Company on the island of Basilan, there are now growing approximately 250,000 trees, of which 40,000 are eight years old and are being tapped.

This company operates its own refining plant, which was erected at a cost of approximately \$15,000 and which has sufficient capacity to refine the product of the plantation when all of the trees reach maturity. This plantation is now operating at a profit and has been doing so for some years past, which demonstrates that rubber can be produced at a profit in the Philippine Islands under present conditions.

There are also other successful rubber developments on the island of Basilan and in the Provinces of Davao and Cotabato.

The American Department of Commerce has reported that there are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land on the islands of Mindanao, Basilan and Jolo suitable for the production of rubber, and that in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

When rubber is raised on a very large scale in the Philippine Islands the problem of securing an adequate supply of labor will become a matter for serious consideration. I believe, however, that for some time to come labor will enter the rubber territory from other parts of the islands as it is required, and in sufficient quantity to produce from 75,000 to 80,000 tons of crude rubber annually.

This quantity constitutes about one-fourth of the annual requirements of the United States at the present time.

While it is apparent from the experience of the American Rubber Company and of all other rubber districts in the East that rubber can be and should be raised in the Philippines by small planters, it will probably be necessary to encourage the development of a few larger estates in the beginning.

Such estates would establish a market for small producers, aid in solving many of the technical problems which might arise in introducing rubber culture into a new area and generally create a feeling of confidence in the future of rubber production in the islands.

If it should be found necessary to change the land laws of the Philippines to induce large interests to enter the country for the purpose of starting rubber production there, such amendments should be made by the Philippine Legislature. This body is in a position to keep within reasonable limits the amount of land held by large companies and otherwise to protect the interests of the

Philippine planters who may be expected to develop small plots when the market is established.

Recommendations

In accordance with your request, I have included in this report a number of suggestions of what might be done to secure a better administration of affairs in the Philippines and a further development of their economic condition.

In conclusion, these suggestions are summarized and certain other recommendations made. I have the honor to recommend:

First—That such steps be taken as may be required to re-establish cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Philippine Government.

Second—That the granting of absolute independence to the Philippines be postponed for some time to come; that this matter be considered at some future date when the islands are sufficiently developed to maintain an independent government, and that in the meantime there be granted such further autonomy in the management of internal affairs as conditions may from time to time warrant.

Third—That the United States Government establish an independent department for the administration of the Philippine Islands and other overseas territory.

Fourth—That the Governor General be provided with the necessary civil advisers in order to relieve him of the present necessity of selecting such advisers from the United States Army.

Fifth—That Mindanao and Sulu should not be separated from the rest of the islands, but that American control be strengthened in the Moro country.

Sixth—That the Federal Reserve system should be extended to the Philippine Islands.

Seventh—That one or more Federal land banks should be established in the Philippines to provide loans at reasonable interest rates for the farmers, who now pay from 12 to 30 per cent. interest.

Eighth—That the United States Department of Agriculture establish a sufficient number of experiment stations in the Philippine Islands to properly develop the agricultural resources of the islands.

Ninth—That the fundamental law governing the Philippines, known as the Jones act, be not amended or changed at this time.

Tenth—That the Philippine Legislature should amend the Philippine land laws (with proper safeguards) so as to bring about such conditions as will attract capital and business experience for the development of the production of rubber, coffee and other tropical products, some of which are now controlled by monopolies.

Eleventh—That no amendments be made at this time to the Philippine land laws by the American Congress.

Twelfth—That the Philippine Government withdraw from private business at the earliest possible date.

The fundamental problems in the Philippines concern the government of the islands and their future relations with the United States. Upon the proper solution of these problems depends the political, social and economic welfare of the Filipinos.

Respectfully submitted,

CARMI A. THOMPSON.

American Scientist's Step Beyond Einstein

By WATSON DAVIS

Science Editor, *Current History*

THE most democratic and the largest of America's scientific meetings are those held annually at Christmas time under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Each year some two thousand papers are delivered before some sixty different scientific organizations that meet as a part of or jointly with the American Association. It is, therefore, a high honor when one of these many papers is singled out for recognition. At the 1926 meeting of the American Association at Philadelphia the annual prize of \$1,000 was awarded to a distinguished mathematician, Professor George D. Birkhoff of Harvard, who delivered as his Vice Presidential address before the mathematics section a contribution to the branch of higher mathematics which has become familiar to the ordinary person through the ideas of Einstein.

Mathematics lies at the basis of all the other sciences, and a science is regarded as becoming most scientific when it can be treated by mathematical methods. Astronomy and physics reached the mathematical stage first, chemistry is rapidly following suit and recently biology and psychology are making use of mathematics. On account of the fundamental importance of mathematics, any advances in this field are welcomed by investigators in every field of research. Consequently it is not surprising that the thousand-dollar prize was awarded to Professor Birkhoff, although the committee contained no representative of the mathematics section.

Only professional mathematicians and physicists will understand the full significance of Professor Birkhoff's paper, but it is possible to give some idea of the direction in which his researches are tending. The Greeks developed geometry and until the last century Euclid was considered the

final authority in this branch of science. But recently it has been found possible to develop other systems of geometry, equally consistent within themselves. This raised the question whether the Euclidean geometry or some of its newer rivals, the non-Euclidean geometries, best fitted the world as it is. When Einstein pointed out that the non-Euclidean geometry gave a better explanation of other physical phenomena, mathematicians plunged into the new field with greater zest.

Professor Birkhoff has taken a step beyond Einstein. He accepts the four-dimensional view of space and time embodied in the theory of relativity as "reasonably correct qualitatively," but points out that no way has yet been found to account for all the lines of the spectrum of light, which are ascribed to the frequency of vibration of various parts of the atom. The atom was formerly regarded as simple, but is nowadays regarded as composed of positive and negative electrical particles, called protons and electrons, the unlike bodies attracting and the like bodies repelling each other. But Professor Birkhoff proposes the use of a new type of elastic body and the "new assumption that the electrical forces between the charges on one and the same proton or electron are attractive instead of repulsive." The laws of space and time in the atomic domain seem irreconcilable with the known statistical laws that can be directly verified, but he hopes that "the mathematicians would develop various types of mathematical universes which might subsequently be of aid to the physicist."

PROFESSOR PUPIN'S PROPHECIES

The principal address of each annual meeting of the American Association is that delivered by the retiring President. This year this office was filled by Dr.

Michael I. Pupin, Professor of Electro-mechanics in Columbia University, and one of those who have contributed to the development of telephony. In speaking upon "Fifty Years of Electrical Communication," Professor Pupin told how his shame at not being able to pronounce English as well as a simple steel disk in front of a magnet was a factor in his rise from sheep herding in Serbia to the heights of American science. At the Centennial Exposition in 1876 he heard Bell's telephone demonstrated and decided to learn how it executed its magic performance that so far exceeded in perfection the articulation of his speaking organs accustomed to Serbian speech. Today the telephone repeater and telephone cable with inductance coils, thanks largely to Dr. Pupin, make New York, St. Louis and Chicago one large telephonic community.

In his address Professor Pupin declared that "the period of fifty years beginning with Bell's invention of the telephone and ending in the Year of the Lord 1926 shows an advance in the art of electrical communications which is greater than the advance in any other technical art." And he told the story of the evolution during the last fifty years of the electrical science and the art of communication. A hundred years ago Maxwell completed the foundation of his great electromagnetic theory when he proved that moving electricity has a momentum and that the magnetic flux which accompanies this motion is the momentum. Through the development of this Maxwellian concept electric communication came into being.

Looking into the future, Professor Pupin said: "The next twenty-five years will not merely see men speaking to men all over the world. The earth itself, and the sun, that great centre of all our terrestrial energy, which means all our life, will be speaking to men by means of electrical communications, and men will understand the message. They are speaking now, but as yet we do not understand. We call their voices 'static,' 'fading,' 'earth currents' and other disagreeable terms. The means of electrical communication which the coming generation will develop will be also powerful instruments in their hands

for the study of the electrical activity of our solar system; that study will decipher the messages which we now do not understand. I myself have already watched on my instruments the arrivals of these cosmic messages. The earth currents in transatlantic cables and the fading of radio messages, for instance, rise and fall, rise and fall, very, very slowly, taking hours and hours to complete a cycle. It is like watching the deliberate and irresistible breathing of a cosmic giant. I can only guess that it means a constant, slow, rhythmic change in the electrical relations between the sun and earth. But where I can only speculate today, the next generation will know."

CAUSE OF DIABETES

Insulin has removed much of the dread from one of mankind's many diseases, diabetes. Now a new chapter in the knowledge of this disease may be opening, for evidence was presented to the American Association that diabetes may be due to infection by a virus too elusive to be discovered by the microscope. This is the inference of experiments carried on by Dr. D. H. Bergey of the University of Pennsylvania. He has found it possible to induce the disease by injecting rabbits with urine from a diabetic patient after filtering it through porous porcelain. This would indicate that diabetes belongs to that class of diseases caused by infection with a germ or virus so extremely minute that it cannot be discerned with the most powerful microscope or caught by the finest filter. Yet Dr. Bergey shows that the diabetes virus can be cultivated and developed on serum broth when air is excluded, and after fifty-six hours is more potent than before in infecting rabbits. The discovery of this method of handling the causative agent of this mysterious malady promises to lead to methods of counteracting it or preventing its spread. Diabetes is one of the diseases which continues to increase in spite of the success of experimental medicine in other fields. The death rate from this disease more than doubled in the twenty-four years preceding 1923. Injections of insulin, the missing hormone, may prolong life indefinitely, but neither the cause nor the cure has so far been discovered.

CURRENT HISTORY—PART II.

By the Board of Current History Associates

The End of Allied Control in Germany

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

Librarian, Princeton University

PACES have a way of associating with themselves certain abstract ideas. We think of The Hague instinctively as representing those forces of arbitration, conciliation and international justice which, despite the war, are slowly gaining ground. Geneva connotes the political and diplomatic aspects of international relations; Versailles the apotheosis of the *lex talionis*, a welter of hatred and revenge. Locarno has come to be the symbol of the new spirit of reason and of accommodation, of compromise and of co-operation—a definite break with the older diplomacy.

It was the League which made Locarno possible; and it was Locarno, in its turn, which dominated the forty-third session of the Council. During the weeks that preceded it, the air was full of rumors of hostility and of disagreement. Germany was increasingly restive under the Allied occupation of her territory; but France very naturally pointed to the Black Reichswehr trials as evidence that the justly celebrated German militarism was by no means dead. It was claimed too that the renovations of the fortresses at Koenigsberg were beyond those permitted by the treaty, and that partially finished war material was being shipped across the border to Russia and to Sweden. The extremists on both sides were very hard to restrain; but Briand and Stresemann kept their heads, and a compromise was reached which for both preserved the essentials and sacrificed nothing of importance.

The session opened on the morning of Dec. 6, 1926, with M. Vandervelde of Belgium in the chair. Sir Austen Chamberlain, Briand and Stresemann, Scialoja of

Italy, Zaleski of Poland, Ishii of Japan, Benes of Czechoslovakia, Titulescu of Rumania, Van Karnebeck of The Netherlands, Chao Hsin Chu of China represented their respective countries, while the American seats were filled by Villegas of Chile, Urutia of Uruguay and Guerrero of Salvador. Eight of them were without experience in Council procedure.

The formal sessions of the Council are not so much given to deliberation as to the public registration of agreements and decisions which have been reached in conferences outside. These conferences go on continually, and their informality adds to their effectiveness. The conversations that went on at Geneva were continuations and extensions of others in Paris and elsewhere during the preceding weeks.

It was agreed, in principle, that Allied control was obsolete, and that it must be transferred to the League. Germany wished to have the League act only on complaint and through temporary investigation commissions. France insisted that the demilitarized Rhineland should have a special status, and that the League should exercise a continuous supervision. The agreement reached did not differ materially from the plan which was worked out in 1924. There is to be a permanent commission at Geneva, but it will act only on complaint and after a majority vote of the Council. In such a case a special commission will be created, on which representatives of the ex-enemy States may sit except in cases involving their own countries. The status of the Rhineland was left undetermined. The agreement states that no permanent groups are to be stationed there "except by convention between the Governments

concerned." Allied control was to cease on Jan. 31, 1927, and questions at issue after that date brought before the Council.



THE END CROWNS ALL

How proud one should be of being French when one looks at this column.

—Ruy Blas, Paris

Popular interest was so largely centred on the question of control that the action of the Council in other matters was almost lost from sight. No agreement was reached

regarding the Saar, and the question was to come up again at the March meeting.

Approval was given to the plan for disaster relief initiated by Senator Ciraolo, President of the Italian Red Cross. It provides for the establishment of an International Relief Union which will function generally through the international and national Red Cross organizations. Five years of study have been given to the plan, and it will come up for final action at an international conference to be held on July 4. About twenty Governments have already expressed their willingness to participate. The United States has refused.

Reports were received regarding the Bulgarian and the Greek refugee situations. In neither case has progress been as rapid as had been hoped, but the magnitude of the task is so great that patience is necessary. Up to last September, 700,000 Greek refugees had been housed. About 120,000 Bulgarian refugees must be provided for. [This was later effected by a loan floated by the League in December.] The settlement of 25,000 Armenians in the Caucasus is to be provided for at the March meeting.

The sharp difference of opinion between the Mandates Commissions and the mandatory powers as to the limits of the responsibility of each, which was debated in the Council in June, 1926, and by the Assembly in September, 1926, again appeared on the agenda. The mandatories object strenuously to what they consider the inquisitorial character of the commission's questionnaires, and particularly to the practice of receiving petitions from disaffected minorities. The Council requested the commission to reconsider its questionnaire and its practice in the light of the discussions and of the notes addressed to it by the powers concerned.

A disagreement between Rumania, on the one side, and Great Britain, France and Italy, on the other, regarding the powers of the Danube Commission was referred to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion.

The financial condition at Danzig in consequence of the disturbed state of the Polish currency was brought to the atten-

tion of the Council, which provided aid by the guarantee of an international loan of 30,000,000 florins. A similar guarantee was given for a loan of \$6,750,000 to Estonia.

The Council voted to summon the Economic Conference on May 4. Each participating nation is asked to send five delegates chosen because of their familiarity with economic problems rather than because of their official position. The agenda provides for the discussion of commercial, industrial and agricultural problems with the purpose of stimulating discussion rather than of evolving specific panaceas for economic ills.

The preparations for the Disarmament Conference had not progressed far enough for the Council to feel justified in setting its date. The problems that it must solve are most difficult and in the last analysis largely political. Economic and technical considerations are, of course, important, but their rôle is secondary. All the Governments concerned realize perfectly the momentous importance of the conference and they will do everything possible to insure its success. If it were called prematurely and if, in consequence, it should fail, the result would be most disastrous. The next meeting of the Preparatory Commission is set for March 21, 1927, and it is hoped that, during the Spring and Summer, enough of the preliminary problems may be solved so that the conference may be summoned shortly after the next meeting of the Assembly. The questions involved in the private manufacture of arms are to be dealt with in a special conference to be called later in the year.

In times of international crisis, rapid and uninterrupted communication between the League and its member States will be of the very highest importance. The Council has therefore instructed the Transit Committee to work out a system by which the telephone, telegraph and train connections between Geneva and the

European capitals will always be in a high state of efficiency, and to provide for the erection at Geneva of a high power wireless station under the direct control of the League. It asked the Governments to nominate technical commissioners who, at times of international tension, may be sent to the danger zones to act as agents of the League; and it provided for the preparation of a report on the financial and economic sanctions that, under Article 16 of the Covenant, may be applied to an aggressor.

At the opening of the final session of the Council, on Dec. 11, M. Vandervelde, in a graceful speech, made a public presentation of the Nobel peace awards to Chamberlain, Briand and Stresemann.



FAUST AND GRETCHEN

Gretchen Stresemann to Faust Briand: "When I see you something compels me to do your will, I know not why. I have already done so much for you that there is almost nothing left that I can do."

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

Issues Before Congress

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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CONGRESS adjourned on Dec. 22, 1926, for the usual holiday recess, to reconvene on Jan. 3, 1927. A spurt of legislative activity sent forward during the two weeks of the session rather more than the customary number of important measures. A bill increasing the salaries of Federal Judges was signed by President Coolidge on Dec. 13. The first of some ten annual appropriation bills, making appropriations for the Treasury and Postoffice Departments, was passed by the two houses and referred to a conference committee for the adjustment of differences in some of the amounts provided. The House of Representatives also passed the bills carrying appropriations for the Interior and Agricultural Departments, together with a number of bills embodying changes in postal rates. A rivers and harbors bill, passed by the House at the previous session, was extensively amended by the Senate, and the final form of the measure was to be determined by a conference committee.

A bill providing for the payment of World War claims of American citizens against Germany, to the amount of approximately \$180,000,000, and of \$100,000,000 for German property seized by the United States during the war, was passed by the House on Dec. 18. Allegations of waste and improper administration of German trust funds by the office of the Alien Property Custodian, based upon a report made to the President by Controller General McCarl, led to a demand in the Senate for an investigation.

Interest in ordinary matters of legislation, however, has been to a large extent overshadowed, in Congress and the country, by the emergence of three issues.

The appointment by Governor Small of Illinois of Frank L. Smith, Republican Senator-elect from that State for the term beginning with the Seventieth Congress, to fill the vacancy created by the death of the late Senator McKinley, raised a politi-

cal storm because of the widespread criticism that had been made of the huge expenditure of money in Mr. Smith's campaign. Notwithstanding a warning from Republican members of the Senate that a number of Republicans would vote against his admission to a seat in case he presented himself, and the introduction by Senator Ashurst of Arizona, Democrat, on Dec. 16, of a resolution directing that the qualifying oath be not administered and calling upon the Reed investigating committee to expedite its report on the Illinois election, it was announced on Dec. 21 that Mr. Smith had accepted the appointment.

The issue which was thus presented and which, until the time of adjournment for the recess, neither Republicans nor Democrats had been disposed to treat as a partisan matter, was generally recognized as of large constitutional importance. It was pointed out in behalf of Mr. Smith that the financial expenditures complained of were made in connection with the State primary at which he was nominated, that the United States Supreme Court had upheld the complete authority of a State over its primary elections and nominating machinery, and that since the State of Illinois had not questioned the legality of the election, the Senate had no right to refuse a seat on personal grounds to a duly elected Senator who had been appointed by the Governor to fill a vacancy. It was further urged that in accepting campaign contributions from persons or corporations interested in legislation before Congress Mr. Smith had done only what other members of the present Senate had done.

On the other hand, those who opposed the admission of Mr. Smith took the ground that, under the Constitution, each House of Congress is made "the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members," and that if the Senate was not competent to take notice of such circumstances as attended the nomination and election of Mr. Smith, Congress was

without power to check or prevent the organized financial corruption in elections which the Reed committee had unearthed.

It was reported on Dec. 27 that the Republican leaders had agreed upon a procedure by which Mr. Smith should be seated, and his credentials referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections with instructions to report within five days. The recommendations of the committee would then be taken up immediately, with a five-day limit to the debate. The obstacles to this program were the announced refusal of Senator Ashurst to withdraw his motion to "turn Mr. Smith back at the door," and the refusal of Senator Borah of Idaho, Republican, to accept a five-day limitation of debate.

A BIGGER NAVY

Another issue, championed by some as a wise move in the direction of national defense, and opposed by others as a backward step in its possible consequences for international peace, was the sudden appearance in Congress of an earnest demand for increased naval construction. The budget message of Dec. 6 did not contain estimates for the remaining three of the eight 10,000-ton light cruisers and one of the two rigid dirigibles the construction of which was authorized in 1924. The estimates were withheld, President Coolidge explained, because negotiations regarding a new conference on the limitation of armaments were still pending, and naval tests of all-metal aircraft were yet to be made. The total estimated cost of cruisers, submarines and dirigibles was later said to be \$460,000,000.

The Naval Affairs Committee of the House on Dec. 15 informed Mr. Coolidge that the United States was falling behind as a naval power and by 1931 would rank fourth (after Great Britain, Japan and France) if the present rate of decline continued. The committee accordingly requested him to transmit at once to Congress the estimates that had been withheld.

To the surprise of Congress and the country, a bill for the construction of ten 10,000-ton cruisers, at an ultimate cost of \$140,000,000, was presented in the House on Dec. 18 by Representative Butler of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, with, he said, the knowledge and approval of the President.

As the bill only authorized the additional cruisers, but did not carry an appropriation for their construction or for the completion of the program authorized in 1924, it did not satisfy the advocates of a stronger navy. Chairman Butler, in a published statement, asserted that the United States had been "fooled" into scrapping its naval vessels in 1922, while other powers had violated the spirit of their agreement by building more vessels than they discarded.

President Coolidge, although yielding readily to the demand for increased naval strength as far as provisional plans were concerned, expressed himself as opposed



A POPULAR INDOOR SPORT

—*Every Evening, Wilmington, Del.*

to proceeding with construction now, and took occasion to announce unofficially on Dec. 24 that the proposed authorization was designed only to "round out" the navy with a view to any national emergency. In a speech at Trenton, N. J., on Dec. 29, he spoke against "a return to the policy of competitive armaments," declaring, "While I favor an adequate army and navy, I am opposed to any effort to militarize this nation."

Mr. Coolidge's disclaimers had no apparent effect in stemming the tide that was already running strongly in the House. Severe criticism was also voiced among members of the House regarding the alleged arbitrary authority exercised by the budget director, General Lord, in virtually overriding the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army in their recommendations for the national defense.

Poisonous Alcohol

The third issue arose with the publication in the press of figures showing an appalling increase, especially marked during the holidays, of deaths caused by drinking poisonous alcohol. It had been known for some time that the Government, in its effort to check the diversion of in-

dustrial alcohol to beverage uses, had been using wood alcohol and other poisons for denaturing purposes, but a published estimate of some 400 deaths from alcoholic poisoning during the year in New York City alone, together with reports of multiplying fatalities from the same cause in other parts of the country, brought the whole prohibition policy sharply under fire.

The Treasury Department, faced by the protests of the Wets and renewed demands of the Drys, showed some vacillation. Following the issuance of an order for a survey of the supply of industrial alcohol in the country, it was reported on Dec. 30 that the department planned to discontinue the use of denaturants likely to cause death or serious sickness. The next day, however, Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, let it be known, after a conference with Secretary Mellon, that the practice would not, in his opinion, be given up unless the Government chemists discovered a non-poisonous formula that would effectually outwit the bootleggers.

It was with these three issues, in addition to tax reduction, farm relief and a mass of routine business, pressing for attention that Congress reassembled on Jan. 3, 1927, for its last two months' work.

Rival Governments in Nicaragua

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THROUGHOUT December two rival Governments—each claiming to be constitutional in character—functioned in Nicaragua. One is Conservative, and is established at Managua under President Adolfo Díaz; the other is Liberal and is established at Puerto Cabezas under former Vice President Juan B. Sacasa. Both Governments are of recent origin. President Díaz entered upon his executive duties on Nov. 14, and Dr. Sacasa was inaugurated "Constitutional" President of Nicaragua at Puerto Cabezas by a band of Liberal revolutionists on Dec. 2.

Events leading up to the establishment of two rival Governments in Nicaragua may be briefly summarized: On Jan. 1, 1925, General Carlos Solorzano and Dr. Sacasa were installed as constitutional President and Vice President, respectively, of Nicaragua, and a coalition Cabinet was named by President Solorzano. In October, 1925, General Chamorro (Conservative), by a coup forced President Solorzano to eliminate all the Liberal Ministers from his Cabinet and to appoint him (Chamorro) Minister of War. At the same time Vice President Sacasa, a bitter politi-

cal enemy of Chamorro, fled from the country and subsequently was declared deposed by the dominant Chamorro faction in Congress. President Solorzano resigned in January, 1926, and General Chamorro assumed the Presidency. He was not recognized, however, by the United States and the other Central American republics, and the Liberals in Nicaragua rose in rebellion against him, claiming that Dr. Sacasa was the constitutional successor of President Solorzano. Opposed at home by a formidable rebellion and without moral support from abroad *de facto* President Chamorro resigned in October, 1926, and a few weeks later the Congress that had been chosen at the time of the election of Solorzano and Sacasa in 1924 was convened. This Congress on Nov. 11, in the exercise of its constitutional authority, chose Senator Adolfo Díaz President of Nicaragua, and five days later his Government was recognized by that of the United States. The Liberals, however, still refused to recognize the validity of the Congressional deposition of Vice President Sacasa, and upon his arrival at Puerto Cabezas they proclaimed him Constitutional President of Nicaragua.

Hostilities in December were restricted to the east coast of Nicaragua. In a three days' battle at Laguna Las Perlas Conservative forces, numbering 1,000 soldiers, were defeated and forced to retreat on Dec. 28 to False Bluff and El Bluff. Many of them were officially reported to have been killed or captured by the Liberal forces numbering 1,500 men.

Mexico recognized the Sacasa Government, and on Dec. 8 the Government of Guatemala, in a note to the Sacasa Government, offered to mediate between it and the Díaz Government. The latter Government declined the offer of mediation on Dec. 19. The Government of El Salvador on Dec. 18 recognized the Díaz Government in Nicaragua. President Jiménez of Costa Rica late in December declined to recognize either the Díaz or the Sacasa Government, the former on the ground that it was not *de jure* and the latter on the ground that it was not *de facto*.

Charges that the Mexican Government was actively aiding the Liberal revolutionists were made by President Díaz in a lengthy manifesto which he issued on Dec.

11. In reply the Mexican Foreign Office on Dec. 11 characterized the Díaz charges against the Mexican Government as "too absurd" for official comment. By way of reply to the Díaz manifesto, Dr. Sacasa on Dec. 14 denied that the Mexican Government was supporting the Liberals of Nicaragua and charged that the story was "invented for the purpose of exciting the suspicion of American public opinion" against the Liberals.

President Díaz continued to reiterate the charges that the Mexican Government was giving aid to the Nicaraguan Liberals and to appeal for aid from the United States. In a message to Congress on Dec. 15 Díaz deprecated alleged interference and aggressions by Mexico, which he characterized as unexplainable. On Dec. 18, after expressing confidence that the United States Government would not "stand aloof and allow Mexico to overthrow a Nicaraguan Government recognized by the United States," Díaz warned that his Government could "carry on alone for a month or two against the Mexican-aided" Liberal revolutionists. On Dec. 23 President Díaz again appealed for American intervention. He asserted that Mexican "oppression" was becoming so strong that eventually he could not cope with it. After reverses to the Conservative forces on Dec. 28, President Díaz asserted that "Mexico, if she wishes, can easily defeat all the Central American republics." He added that he could not "hold out much longer against her," and charged that another Mexican gun-runner with more ammunition that his Government at that time possessed had left Mexico for Nicaragua.

United States marines under the command of Rear Admiral Latimer were landed at Rio Grande Bar and at Puerto Cabezas, the Liberal capital, on Dec. 23. According to the Department of State this action was taken "for the purpose of protecting American and foreign lives and property" after "appeals for protection had been received from American citizens having interests in that district." At the same time a neutral zone, comprising the territory lying within rifle range of American foreign properties, was established at Puerto Cabezas. This action automatically called for the disarming of all forces in

the neutral zone. Dr. Sacasa and his forces were given permission to leave the neutral zone by 4 P. M. on Dec. 24, by water, with their arms if they so desired. Otherwise, they were told, they must disarm and deliver such arms to the United States naval authorities. Subsequently the Department of State instructed Admiral Latimer "to afford such protection as the occasion might demand." Troops of the Díaz Government, upon reaching El Bluff after their defeat at Las Perlas on Dec. 28, entered the neutral zone and turned over their arms and ammunition to the United States naval authorities. A censorship imposed by Admiral Latimer on radio stations in the neutral zone was removed on Dec. 30. The establishment of the censorship was the basis for a protest to the Department of State by Dr. T. S. Vaca, the Sacasa representative in Washington, on Dec. 29.

Previous to this Dr. Vaca had protested on Dec. 25 against the landing of marines at Puerto Cabezas, on the ground that it amounted to armed intervention. He denied that American lives or property had been endangered there. The same day Señor Salomon de la Selva, Secretary of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, urged the American Federation of Labor "to exercise its influence against the landing of American armed forces in Nicaragua * * * to aid reactionary rulers." At Puerto Cabezas on Dec. 29 Dr. Sacasa declared that "foreign capital is not and never has been in danger." He charged that the declaration of a neutral zone for the protection of foreign interests was only an apparent reason, but that the real motive was protection for the *de facto* Government of Adolfo Díaz.

The situation in Nicaragua in the latter part of December aroused the interest of prominent members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate. Asserting that according to reports

General Chamorro had surrendered command of the Nicaraguan Army and had left the country at the suggestion of the Department of State, Senator Moses on Dec. 28 introduced a resolution calling upon President Coolidge for information as to what action had been taken or appropriately could be taken to aid the Díaz Government "to restore order and secure peace." The Department of State the following day disclaimed any intention of interfering in the internal affairs of another country.

Chairman Borah of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Dec. 24, upon being advised of the landing of marines at Puerto Cabezas, charged that an "effort is being made to get this country into a shameless, cowardly little war with Mexico. If Díaz could induce us to begin that war with Mexico in defense of his country, he would be serving * * * the schemes of those who would like to see us in trouble with Mexico." Three days later (Dec. 27), Senator Borah charged that "a large part of the Nicaraguan revolution is being instigated and directed from Washington and for business reasons * * * by business interests." The following day it was announced from the White House that the United States, in ordering the landing of marines in Nicaragua, had had no other object than the protection of American life and property. After a conference with Secretary of State Kellogg on Dec. 29, Senator Borah expressed his conviction that American efforts in Nicaragua were confined to the protection of American life and property. At the same time he warned that we "should be vigilant against being tricked into intervention," and he expressed himself as favoring the withdrawal of American forces "just as soon as it can be ascertained that Americans are reasonably safe."



Financial Improvement in France

By CARL BECKER

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THE event of chief importance in France during the month of December, 1926, was the continued financial improvement, which manifested itself chiefly in three respects—the passing of the budget, the excellent situation of the Treasury and the Bank of France and the maintenance of the franc at the high level reached in November.

In November Premier Poincaré announced that the budget would be passed in December. To this end he gave all his energy. In the Chamber he ruthlessly refused every demand for increases in the appropriations, with the result that the Chamber passed the budget practically as presented on Dec. 4. The Senate returned the measure to the Chamber on Dec. 17, with a few modifications reducing the surplus of receipts over expenditures from about 450,000,000 to about 105,000,000 francs. With these modifications the completed budget was agreed to by the two Chambers on Dec. 19. As passed, the budget calls for a revenue of 39,728,310,-792 francs and an expenditure of 39,541,-443,921. Although it was the largest budget ever presented during the Third Republic, it was the first one in forty years to be passed before Christmas. It was in addition a "balanced" budget—balanced, that is, on the assumption that the franc has an exchange value of thirty to the dollar.

Meantime the condition of the Treasury and the Bank of France continued excellent. On Dec. 1 the Treasury had on hand sufficient money to meet the foreign obligations for the coming year, besides being in a position to resume payment of the 2,000,000,000 francs contracted to be paid to the Bank in 1920. The revenue received for the eleven months of the year 1926 exceeded the amount received for the first eleven months of 1925 by about nine and a quarter billions. Reports of the Bank of France during the month indicated a marked decrease in note circulation, and toward the end of December it was an-

nounced that there was available in gold more than the \$1,000,000,000 considered essential for successful stabilization.

The third factor in the improved financial condition was that the franc retained in general the high level reached in late November. In addition, fluctuations were less sudden and violent, which may have been due to the fact that both the Government and the Bank of France endeavored to check such fluctuations. For example, on Dec. 23 the Bank announced that it would buy or sell foreign exchange to any amount at the prevailing rate of 25.19. Rumors to the effect that this action meant that the Government had determined to "peg" the franc, or to stabilize it, at this rate were denied. Not to prevent the franc from rising further, but to prevent it from rising too rapidly, was apparently the motive.

From this situation Premier Poincaré naturally derived much credit, and at the close of the year the Ministry of National Union appeared to be as stable as it had been at any time since its formation. It is true that during the month certain bye-elections seemed to indicate a degree of opposition, but at least no political difficulties developed in the Chamber. Nevertheless, the improved financial situation was accompanied by a continued and increasing business depression. With the franc rising, or at least every day expected to rise, people hesitated to buy, preferring to wait for lower prices. Paris shops, even during the holidays, were not crowded. Textile industries in Northern France were hard hit, and complained loudly of Belgian competition. Industries devoted to the manufacture of luxuries, such as the automobile industry, found their sales rapidly falling off, and were accordingly obliged to curtail expenses by discharging employes. With business subject to "creeping paralysis," France began to be faced, for the first time since the war, with the problem of unemployment—the problem

that has faced every country which has deflated its currency.

More than ever, therefore, people were demanding an end to uncertainty. It is all very well, they were in effect saying to M. Poincaré, to have an improved financial situation, but what are you going to do with this advantageous situation? To business men, employers, laborers and the mass of the people the answer to this question was simply that the franc should be stabilized.

Yet in face of this insistent demand for stabilization Premier Poincaré refused to commit himself further than to say that the Government aimed to effect stabilization in fact before effecting it officially. What this meant could only be inferred. No doubt the possibility of foreign loans depended on a ratification of the debt agreements; but with a billion dollars of gold available foreign loans were not essential, and the Premier announced that

the Government was not attempting to obtain such loans. There is of course one important class that is not keen for stabilization. That is the class of holders of Government securities; and it was suggested that Premier Poincaré was more concerned to preserve for the middle and lower class investors their carefully hoarded savings than he was in securing the interests of the big business world. If so, his policy would be to push the franc up still further, not too rapidly and if possible without violent fluctuations. Such a policy nevertheless presents a serious difficulty, which was pointed out. The domestic debt of France is about 300,000,-000,000 francs. The higher the franc is pushed before stabilization the more burdensome this debt will become. The question of stabilization is therefore bound up with the question: "What proportion of the total wealth of France are the people of France willing to appropriate in order to save the bondholders from losses?"

Germany's Cabinet Crisis

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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AFTER a little over six months' precarious existence the Marx Cabinet, a minority Government of the Middle parties in Germany, was forced to resign on Dec. 17. The crisis was precipitated by the Socialists, who for some time had been seeking to oust Minister of Defense Gessler and Minister of Interior Külz. The Socialist lack-of-confidence motion was carried by a vote of 249 to 171. Only the People's, Centre and Democratic parties supported the Government.

The first intimation that trouble was brewing came early in December, when the *Manchester Guardian* published a series of articles written by its special correspondent in Germany to the effect that the German Ministry of Defense had for years been building up reserves of airplanes and other military equipment in Russia with the aid of the Soviet Government. These articles were immediately

reprinted in the Socialist organ *Vorwärts* as proof of the oft-repeated Socialist contention that Dr. Gessler, who had been Minister of Defense for seven years, outliving ten Cabinets, was nothing but the tool of the German militarists and reactionaries and that he should have been forced out long ago from his post.

While the controversy was in progress negotiations for transforming the Marx Cabinet into a Grand Coalition to include representatives of all parties except the Nationalists, Fascists and Communists were under way. Efforts in this direction, however, broke down, and on Dec. 16 Herr Scheidemann, Socialist leader in the Reichstag, launched a merciless attack on Gessler and the Reichswehr régime, in which he reiterated the statements first published in the *Manchester Guardian*. He asserted that hundreds of former officers of the Imperial Army were sta-

tioned throughout Germany organizing so-called cadet corps preparatory for the Reichswehr, that regular army officers disguised as "physical instructors" trained the members of so-called athletic organizations in the art of war, and that small-arms clubs held target practice on the Reichswehr ranges. "The German people want peace and reconciliation with the Allies," Scheidemann declared, "but the military activities of the Nationalist elements endanger that peace. The Socialists demand the discharge of all men, from Minister of Defense Gessler downward, who are connected with these *sub rosa* armaments. We demand a detailed accounting of how the army and navy spend appropriations, because we have reason to believe that the funds are diverted illegally. We demand the names, activities and pay of all ex-officers who are retired on pensions or who serve the army secretly. To Russia I say we want to be friends, but it is a foul friendship so long as the Soviets preach world revolution and help disrupt the German Reichswehr." The Minister of Defense, Scheidemann concluded, had failed to mold the army into an instrument for the protection of the republic, and was pursuing underhanded, secret methods not in keeping with the internal and foreign policies of the Reich. While he did not mention Herr Külz, Minister of Interior, it was widely known that the Socialists held him responsible for the recently enacted censorship law.

In replying to Scheidemann, Chancellor Marx denied that a secret monarchist military clique was building up a huge illegal reserve army in Germany, with munitions and airplanes manufactured and hoarded in Russia. He furthermore denied that Government funds were being diverted illegally for military purposes. He expressed his willingness to have the Reichswehr activities investigated and declared that he was positive that the army was loyal to the republic. The debate was marked by tumultuous scenes, the Nationalists branding Scheidemann as a blackguard and a traitor.

The Nationalists voted in favor of the Socialist motion only after they had failed to reach an agreement with the Marx Government with a view of being represented

in the Cabinet. When informed that the Cabinet would not be rebuilt so as to admit Nationalist representation and thus form a bloc of bourgeois parties, Count Westarp, leader of the Nationalists, declared that his party was convinced that a minority Government was "impossible."

At the urgent request of President Hindenburg the Marx Ministry agreed to function until its successor was named. It was currently rumored at the time this article went to press that the new Ministry would be frankly anti-Socialist and that it would include Foreign Minister Stresemann and Minister of Defense Gessler. President Hindenburg was very anxious to maintain Gessler in his present post. In political circles it was hinted that several Reichswehr Generals had intimated privately to the President their resolve to resign if the army were permitted to become the football of politicians through the retirement of the only civilian leader whom the officers' corps trusts.

Like Hindenburg, the majority of the Reichstag also wanted Gessler retained. Among middle-class Liberals, whose living spokesman is Dr. Wirth, there were many who desired to see the army of the republic reorganized. The murders by the Black Reichswehr Feme, illegal contacts between the army and the anti-Republican militarist organizations, monarchistic manifestations by high army officers, and other like factors, did not set well with many of the Liberals. Very few of them, however, went so far as to echo the Socialists' demand for the retirement of Gessler; in fact, despite bitter criticism of him by his own faction of the Democratic Party, no bourgeois group had ever formally condemned his management of the Reichswehr. To what extent his part in the removal of General von Seeckt had increased the number of his critics it was difficult to say.

During the last week of December sensational rumors were current to the effect that a national conspiracy was on foot for the dissolution of the Reichstag and the constitutional establishment of a dictatorial régime. On Dec. 28, however, President Hindenburg made it clear through political channels that he had absolutely no intention of taking such a step.

Vatican's Censure of the Fascisti

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE question of the relation between the Vatican and the Fascist régime was brought to the fore during the past month. The occasion was an allocution delivered by the Pope in a secret consistory at the Vatican on Dec. 20. After passing briefly in review the events of the year as they affected the Roman Catholic Church in other parts of the world, and referring to the storm raised by the attempt to assassinate Mussolini, he said:

"But while we, and with us the Bishops, priests and all good Catholics, turned to God in thanks and in prayer for protection of the man whose life they recognized as precious to all, another storm broke over the country. Neither the sanctity of churches nor the venerable dignity of Bishops, nor the sacred character of priests was spared. Blind hate caused good Catholics to be treated like enemies of law and order. With wicked cunning the best and most fervent Catholics were singled out for the harshest treatment.

"We know that precise and severe instructions have been issued efficiently to prevent and repress and severely punish all violence. We are glad of this and are comforted by these wise measures of the Government, as also we are comforted by the just satisfactions given to the injured pastors and faithful to whom they were due and who sorely needed them lest they lose all faith in the right of might, in the severity of law and in the good-will of their governors.

"Our confidence, however, is not yet either full or sure. This we say especially with reference to religious interests which are recognized to be, as indeed they are, one of the supreme interests of our people. A dark threat seems to hover and hang suspended over our 'Catholic action' organizations, which are the apple of our eye. We again see a conception of a State making headway which is not a Catholic conception, because it makes the State an end

unto itself and citizens mere means to that end, absorbing and monopolizing everything.

"A regular dualism of powers and of functions in the Provinces makes men who, under different banners and under different names, remain the same sectarians of yesterday, the same enemies of society and religion—makes these men, we say, the arbiters and executors of orders which are, we admit, good and providential in themselves. It seems to us to be irreconcilable with official demonstrations of religiousness (sic) to treat holy ministers in a way which is totally unfitting to their dress and their character, often despite the intervention of the Bishops.

"We hope that it is already no longer possible to make such remarks or to conceive such fears. We hope and believe that every reason for difference having been removed and the confidence of all good and honest men having been restored, the cooperation of all for the common good and common prosperity may occur all the more coordinately and effectively."

This allocution, considered in some quarters as the most important political utterance since the beginning of the present Pontificate, was variously interpreted. It was noted, on the one hand, that although attempts on the life of the head of the Italian Government were always formally and sternly denounced by the Papacy, no Pope since the establishment of the present kingdom had ever spoken in terms of so much sympathy for a political ruler of Italy. On the other hand, the reference to the violent attacks on the sanctity of churches and the persons of ecclesiastics has been pointed out as evidence that after the attempt on the life of Premier Mussolini at Bologna, serious anti-Catholic demonstrations had taken place in Italy, occurrences which were not mentioned in news dispatches. Fascist supporters maintained, however, that such violence had

been curbed and was now a matter of past history, and expressed surprise that the Pope should allude to it. They were also surprised, in view of the conciliatory attitude of Premier Mussolini toward the Church, that the Pope should manifest such thorough disapproval of the Fascist conception of the State.

The above criticisms, according to Government officials, are only incidental. The real issue is implied in the statement that "the education and formation of Christian youth are imperiled." The reference is to various organizations of Catholic youth such as the Catholic Pioneers, the equivalent of the Boy Scouts, and to the Fascist Balilla and vanguard organizations, which are intended to train young boys for entrance into the Fascist militia. In the latter the Pope sees an anti-religious rival to the Catholic organizations. To the Fascists, on the other hand, the Catholic organizations are objectionable, both because they are international, and because they are supposed to be allied with the so-called Popular or Catholic Party. In fact there have been various clashes, and an International Congress of Catholic Boy Scouts which was to have been held in Rome in the Summer of 1926, was called off. In other words it is a question of the control of education. This the Government does not propose to give up. At the same time it maintains that the two types of organizations can exist peaceably side by side, provided one will keep clear of religion, the other of politics.

A much more violent attack on the Fascist régime was made by Signor Filippo Turati, the veteran leader of the Moderate Socialist Party in Italy. Considering himself in danger from militant Fascists, he left Italy secretly for France. According to his statements the impression that Italy is united behind Mussolini is far from true:

"Mussolini has gone to work so systematically, suppressing every vestige of criticism by the Opposition, that no one dares

even to think differently from him today. In effect, to eat—to exist—in Italy, one must adhere to Fascism, for without the insignia of the Fascist régime in your buttonhole, you cannot get employment, it follows, you cannot eat. Therefore you have hundreds of thousands of persons doing lip service to Fascism who, if free to express their minds, would have done with it and all its evils tomorrow. A referendum, freely conducted, would find 90 per cent. of the population against Mussolini.

"The outside world, and by that I mean everywhere outside of Italy, has no idea what an unbelievable situation obtains in Italy. Not even the darkest period of the Middle Ages offers a parallel: There is absolutely no freedom of thought, word, deed or action left in once free Italy."

"Not only are the Socialists treated in this outrageous fashion, but all who hold views opposed to Mussolini's, including Conservatives, Catholics and Liberals. In Italy we live in almost complete ignorance of all that is going on, except that which Fascism wants us to know. To find out what is going on, we must have recourse to foreign newspapers, and even these may soon be denied us."

According to Premier Mussolini, on the other hand, the theories, as well as the activities of the Socialists often constitute a danger to the State, and repressive measures are a matter of necessary self-defense. To quote his own words, the national defense decrees were issued for the purpose of protecting "the productive rhythm of the Italian nation. The provision effecting revocation until further notice of the licenses of certain newspapers must not be interpreted as a breach of the principle of liberty of the press or of criticism. What Fascism refuses to admit is liberty of libel, which, moreover, is most severely banned by American legislation. Vulgar insults and apologies of crime must be repressed, not only when they explode criminally in the street or public squares, but also in journalistic haunts during the preparatory phase of crime."

Yugoslavia and Italo-Albanian Treaty

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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THE treaty signed on Nov. 27, 1926, between Italy and Albania sent an electric shock throughout the Near East and caused tremors in several Western capitals. In Yugoslavia it helped bring on—if indeed it did not directly precipitate—the severest political crisis since the war. Notwithstanding rumors that the veteran ex-Premier Pashitch was dissatisfied with the home and foreign policy of the State and was preparing to place himself once more at the head of a Government, the latent crisis seemed, until the Italo-Albanian treaty was announced, to have been indefinitely postponed.

This treaty came as a bolt out of the blue sky. Hardly a month previously M. Nintchitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was publicly congratulating himself and his country on the improvement which had come about in the relations between Yugoslavia and Italy. A treaty of friendship, entered into almost three years ago in pursuance of M. Nintchitch's well-known policy of entering into good relations with everybody, had seemed to put an end to differences that some people feared could be settled only by the sword; and in the interval Italo-Yugoslav relations had borne a cerulean hue.

On its face, the Italo-Albanian treaty seemed to furnish small reason for Yugoslav excitement; certainly the document as published contained no clause in violation of the Italo-Yugoslav agreement. Yugoslav resentment instantly became very keen, however, being based on both a point of honor and a suspicion. The point of honor was that, whereas in the Italo-Yugoslav treaty of 1924 the two parties agreed to keep each other informed of all new negotiations affecting Central Europe and the Balkans, this procedure was not followed in the case of the Albanian agreement. The suspicion was that there is a secret clause in this agreement conceding to Italy rights which virtually amount to a protectorate over Albania.

Categorical denial that the treaty contained any secret provisions was promptly forthcoming from Rome; it was announced that the complete document would be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations; and from Paris, Geneva and other centres came advice to Belgrade to proceed cautiously in handling the situation. This did not, however, allay feeling among the Yugoslavs. Whether or not there were any secret clauses, the treaty struck them as inconsistent in spirit and intent with the Italo-Yugoslav understanding. It threatened the very foundations of Yugoslav policy, which up to the present has adhered tenaciously to the principle, "The Balkans for the Balkan nations." The treaty of 1924, it was regretfully observed, had not kept Italy from following precisely the methods by which ancient Rome, of which Signor Mussolini talks so much, penetrated, and eventually extended dominion over, the Balkan Peninsula. The new treaty, declared M. Pashitch, pushed the Italian frontier eastward as far as the River Drin.

Nor did the protestations of innocence from Rome avert a Cabinet upset at Belgrade. First, Foreign Minister Nintchitch, regarding the treaty as a personal as well as a national affront, resigned on Dec. 6. Then the remainder of the Uzunovitch Cabinet decided, on Dec. 7, to give up office.

Upon Premier Uzunovitch's resignation King Alexander asked him to form a new Government. This he attempted to do, but without success; and on Dec. 9 the sovereign turned to Serbia's "grand old man," Nikola P. Pashitch, who, with only brief interruptions, had been Prime Minister of Serbia and Yugoslavia for twenty years.

On the afternoon of Dec. 9 the ex-Premier talked with the King; the same evening he conferred with members of the Radical Party, which he had founded and made the dominant party in the country; later in the evening he complained of ill-

ness — and the next morning he passed away.

This wholly unexpected turn of events left the political situation in the peculiarly unsettled state which has continued to the date of writing. After a fortnight of further ineffectual effort by M. Uzunovitch to form a Government, Professor (and ex-Premier) Ljuba Davidovitch, leader of the United Democratic and Bosnian Moslem parties, tried his hand, in the hope of being able to build up a wide "concentration" Ministry capable of maintaining a parliamentary majority. But his efforts were also futile, and the King turned back the task to Uzunovitch, who at last, near the end of the month, seemed in a fair way to succeed, at least for the moment.

At one time it seemed that the crisis was about to revive the active separatist tendencies which formerly caused the Government so much anxiety. Stephen Raditch, the Croatian leader, somewhat ostentatiously absented himself from the Pashitch funeral; and Dr. Koroshetz, leader of the Slovenian Clerical Party, issued a state-

ment that his partisans would have no further share in affairs at Belgrade until the other parties agreed that certain things should be done for Slovenia. Later, however, it was understood that M. Raditch and his followers would participate in the new Ministry of "sacred union," and on Dec. 25 Dr. Koroshetz definitely announced his willingness to enter the Cabinet. So far as the ten recognized parties are concerned, the chief uncertainty at the end of the month seemed to be the future of the Radicals, left leaderless by the death of Pashitch. Dissensions in the ranks—which, indeed, caused the venerable ex-Premier's retirement last April — had grown to a point, even before the events of December, which threatened the party's dominance in the country.

With a view to placating Yugoslav feeling, Albania offered, in the middle of December, to sign a treaty with Belgrade similar to the one concluded with Rome. It was reported from the Yugoslav capital, however, that this move was regarded as prompted by Italy.

Lithuanian Government Overthrown

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE American public had hardly become acquainted with the terms of the treaty of non-aggression between Lithuania and the Soviet Union when word came that military forces under Antona Smetona, former President of Lithuania, had seized power in Kaunas (Kovno) at 3 A. M. on Dec. 17 and had arrested President Grinius and all the members of the Ministry whom they could apprehend. For a few hours some troops remained loyal to the Government of Prime Minister Slezevicius, but the insurgents soon gained full control with no bloodshed. Smetona accepted, in the emergency, the post of Chief of State until a duly constituted election could be held.

On the following day the state of siege was lifted in Kaunas; President Grinius was momentarily restored to give an aspect

of legality to the resignation of the Slezevicius Ministry and the appointment of a Ministry headed by Augustine Valdemaras; and the Lithuanian Parliament was summoned to meet that night. Only forty members of the Parliament, however, assembled; they all belonged to the conservative groups of the Right. At first the Speaker, Stolgaitis, who is a member of the Left, refused to preside over the meeting; but he was persuaded to stay long enough to give Parliament a formal opening. Then, having accepted the resignations of President Grinius and Speaker Stolgaitis, Parliament chose Stulgansky, a former President of Lithuania, to be the new Speaker, and by a vote of 38 to 2 elected Smetona President of the republic.

Speculations as to the purposes of this overturn were instantly rife in the capitals

of interested European powers. At Warsaw one newspaper correspondent heard five different conjectures with respect to the cause of the revolution—German influence, Soviet influence, a combination of German and Soviet intrigues to hurt Poland, secret operations by Marshal Pilsudski of Poland to unite Lithuania with Poland, and internal dissension on account of the policies of the Slezevicius Ministry which handicapped certain industrial interests. Of these, the Polish observers were prone to give more credence to the sinister influences of Germany and the Soviet Union. Army officers insisted that military preparations were being made in Lithuania to invade the district of Vilna; it was said that German and Russian officers had already been seen there. But the Polish Government did not view the situation with so much alarm. Foreign Minister Zaleski issued a statement on Dec. 17 to the effect that the Government would watch and wait, and on the next day he announced that, after a thorough investigation, he had found no evidence that Russia had fomented the revolt in Lithuania. The Polish authorities contented themselves with making plans to reinforce the border patrol and with issuing an ultimatum that the district of Vilna must not be violated during the disturbance in Lithuania.

The opinion was expressed in Berlin that the Lithuanian nationalists about Smetona had been aided in their attack upon the Moderate Socialist Ministry by distressing economic conditions and by popular misgiving as to the ability of Slezevicius and his colleagues to withstand Poland's determination to have permanent possession of Vilna. German expectations were that Smetona would move with armed force to retake Vilna. In Paris, the news of Smetona's coup was received as an indication that conservative elements in Lithuania had been alarmed by the influx of Bolshevik agitators following the treaty between Lithuania and the Soviet Union; and then, when Lithuanian crops failed and the Soviet Government delayed shipments of wheat that had been promised, the Fascist groups in the army and among the upper classes had believed that the Soviet Government wanted to cause a famine in Lithuania in order to prepare

the way for a Bolshevik uprising. According to comments heard in Paris, it was to prevent this imminent danger that Smetona and his followers struck down the Socialist Ministry of Slezevicius.

Naturally enough, the Bolsheviks in Moscow had no such view of the situation in Lithuania. Both *Izvestia* and *Pravda* declared that Smetona had the backing of Poland; *Pravda* went further and said that the affair was another evidence of British hostility to Russia; *Izvestia* insinuated that negotiations between Lithuanian Catholics and Pilsudski with representatives of the Vatican had some connection with the revolt. Well might the Bolshevik authorities be disturbed; they had just made a guarantee pact with a Government of the Left which had rested upon the support of the labor unions, poorer peasants and humbler folk in Lithuania; but before the trade agreement, which was to follow the political treaty, could be made, that Liberal Ministry in Lithuania had been suddenly overturned by a nationalist leader whose support evidently came from the groups of the Right, the richer peasantry, the Catholic Party and the upper classes whose interests in the past had been more closely aligned with those of Poland than with those of Soviet Russia. The Russian observers saw reason to fear armed Polish intervention in Lithuania, if the Lithuanian masses should now go on a general strike against Smetona's usurped authority. Such intervention would mean the destruction of all that had been accomplished in recent negotiations toward the stabilization of relations, both political and economic, between Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

Russian fears, perhaps, were somewhat dispelled by the statement on Dec. 21 of Valdemaras, the new Lithuanian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Immediately after seizing Kaunas on Dec. 17 the military leaders had posted declarations that they had been obliged to resort to force because Lithuanian Communists, financed from abroad, were planning a similar coup for the first days of January, and, although aware of the plot, the Slezevicius Ministry had made no attempt to stop it. Valdemaras made the charge more specific and declared that Poland

was organizing the Communist revolt in Lithuania. The Poles planned to create a situation in which their own troops might be thrown into Lithuania to restore order. According to Valdemaras, no other outcome than the obliteration of Lithuanian independence would result from Polish occupation.

The new Lithuanian Prime Minister expressly wished the Soviet authorities to know that he had no intention of repudiating the guarantee pact to which Slezevicius had agreed with representatives of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Russians who are at all informed know that Valdemaras has been a bitter opponent of Russia; they know also that the military leaders of the revolt, the richer peasantry and the Catholic Party—the supporters of Smetona and Valdemaras—are sworn enemies of Communism.

Concerning Lithuania's relations with Finland, Estonia and Latvia, Valdemaras had this to say: owing to their fears of Russia, they seemed to incline toward Poland; but Lithuania, having no frontier with Russia and nursing a grievance because of Poland's seizure of Vilna, saw danger only from Poland. In consequence, there could be no political union between Lithuania and the Baltic States on the north; but Valdemaras saw no reason why there should not be cordial economic relations, and he pledged his Government to strive for economic cooperation with them, looking eventually toward a customs union. But foreign correspondents in Riga, Latvia, gained the impression that prominent persons in Northern Baltic countries did not give much weight to Lithuanian charges of Polish aggression nor fully believe that Valdemaras was speaking for all his colleagues in the new Lithuanian Government when he said that political union among the Baltic States seemed impossible.

Out of this confusion of partisan statements and opinions American observers can draw few certain conclusions as to the

real state of affairs in Lithuania. Perhaps they will find the most reasonable explanation in the remarks to the press on Dec. 26 of Petras Klimas, Lithuanian Minister to France. He said that Smetona's coup d'état was the result, not so much of the danger from the Communist plot as of a growing dislike of the Socialist Government under Slezevicius among the majority of the Lithuanian population. Because of its slowness to take action, the Slezevicius Ministry had given the Communist movement the appearance of being wider spread and stronger than it actually was. "The country, which is largely inhabited by Catholics and moderate property holders," Klimas said, "would never fall prey to revolutionary propaganda." Other causes of discontent he found in the attempts of the Slezevicius Ministry to "laicize" Lithuania—that is, to advance the interests of the common people in preference to those of the Church, as well as those of the richer classes—and in the permission which the Government under Slezevicius had given the Polish Government to maintain schools in Lithuania for the Polish minority. "This weakness," he said, "caused a strong protest from the nationalist parties, justly incensed by the Polish persecution in the Lithuanian schools in Vilna." The report of the interview with Klimas ended with this significant quotation: "The new Premier, M. Valdemaras, has recently declared in the press that the Lithuanian insurrection was of a domestic character. This could not be otherwise, because all the Governments of Lithuania, whatever they may be, always agree that only one foreign policy can be possible—the policy characterized by resistance of the aggressive aims of Poland and the pursuit of one essential purpose: the recovery by Lithuania of the national territory of Vilna, which now is under Polish military occupation."



Holland's Colonial Uprisings

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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THE problems of the Government of the Netherlands are not confined to the small area bordering on the North Sea. Thousands of miles separate the Dutch East Indies from the home country, but proper Government of these colonies is demanded for the millions of tons of sugar, coffee and spices which regularly flow into the warehouses of Holland, not to speak of the moral obligations to the native population.

Among these colonial islands Java is the most important with some 30,000 inhabitants. Its 48,000 square miles of surface are diversified by lofty mountains, tropical jungles and highly fertile valleys. Although scarcely half of the total area is under cultivation, the total production is a great commercial asset. To maintain this flow of commerce, and at the same time govern a great agricultural population, has been a task in which the Dutch Government has learned much by experience. The old practice of exploiting a colony solely as a tributary to the home country gave way fifty years ago to a more reasonable system. The native chiefs are put to use in local Government, a certain amount of self-Government is provided for towns, and over all is set a Governor General, appointed by the Queen of Holland.

Yet the mixture of Oriental races and religions, and the influx of Western ideas crudely understood by the natives, make Government a continuous problem, as may be seen from the uprisings which took place in November. These were reported as communistic or bolshevist movements; but Dr. Fock, former Governor General, says that these terms should not be used in the sense employed in Europe.

According to the official report made early in December to the Dutch House of Representatives, it appears that the uprisings were more serious than the Dutch

news agencies were allowed to publish, but that the Colonial authorities have the matter completely in control, and are bent upon complete extinction of the agitation and the agitators. In these plots there were three ramifications. One was communistic and directed toward destruction of the present Government by Surio Suparmo, who is described as the brains of the whole movement. The second was an anti-Christian agitation, led by the Moslem, Mohammed Ali, in Sverabaya. Ali was once a member of the Caliphate Committee in India and went to Java after the collapse of Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperative campaign against the Indian Government. The third movement was the anti-foreign phase which was developed by one Moentalis among the Chinese, particularly in the region of Sheribon.

The scheme appears to have been for the insurgents first to seize the barracks at the secondary posts, then overrun the plantations, where they expected to gather recruits, with whom they would invest the fortified places. The Government was able to suppress all these movements. Death sentences were inflicted upon the three leaders, a fourth was sentenced to life imprisonment and another to twenty years.

In the report appear curious items of native tradition and social conditions. There is, for instance, at Bantam an old cannon, a relic of the Portuguese occupation in the sixteenth century, which is supposed to have medicinal properties like those in certain mineral springs. In Batavia, sixty miles distant, is another cannon supposed to be of like origin. The Javanese believe that when these two cannon get together the Dutch rule will cease. It is said to be due to the watchfulness of the Dutch secret service that a few days before the insurrection these cannon were closely guarded in order to prevent their removal.

This precaution is believed to have taken the heart out of the movement.

A year ago there was caste trouble in Bantam, but there is no evidence that the high-class Hindus of the western provinces were interested in the plot. The workers on the plantations turned a deaf ear to the agents sent among them, and, moreover, it is believed that these workers furnished information upon which the Government was enabled to act effectively. The official report, after describing the measures taken to punish the guilty, goes on to say that the Government decided not to hold criminal and political investigations simultaneously, as results rendered would have been less clear. Although the Government confesses that it was, "in more than one respect, groping in the dark, as long as the result of the inquiry by the courts was not yet known, the material already at hand and verified has led to the conclusion that the disturbances which had broken out in West Java and also prepared elsewhere were the outcome of a scheme for the overthrow of the Government, planned on broad lines by the communistic leaders. This conclusion is the reason why the Government should not at present confine itself to taking measures immediately to suppress actual disorders and promote a speedy preliminary examination by experts, to be followed by summary action against the participants in such disorders, but also consider how such outbreaks could be prevented in the future, if not rendered altogether impossible."

According to the report, the Government declares that the triple character of the conspiracy has been proved, although the exact status of the anti-Christian and anti-foreign elements in the communistic fabric is not yet known. This, it is declared, makes it absolutely necessary that the leaders of both the central organization and its branches should be rendered impotent to harm. The Government will therefore act as follows: In accordance

with the speech made by the Governor General on taking office and with the Government statement of Nov. 13, the Government has decided to intern the communist leaders where, in the opinion of the authorities and the public prosecutor, they can be regarded as such and where legal proceedings are not being taken against them in connection with the recent disturbances. Although this measure applies only to the heads of the communistic activities, the number of those affected would be considerable. Those who attempted to rebuild the organization or who assisted in doing so would also be interned.

This, of course, does not refer to those with whom the courts have dealt, and lest there should be criticism of thus handling



THE SHADOW OF THE ETERNALLY ENSLAVED
DUTCH INDIES RISES

Dutch Indian Capitalist: "Police! Soldiers! Help!
Help!" —*De Notenkraker, Amsterdam*

those against whom there is no "legal" evidence, "the Government regrets that it is compelled to make such extensive use of the right of internment." The statement proceeds: "Society, however, has a right to protection from the communistic poison, and the measure is therefore indispensable. Strong in this conviction, the Government took the full responsibility, especially as it knew that it acted in accordance with the wishes of the vast majority of the popula-

tion of the Dutch East Indies, which, and this has been proved emphatically, had no sympathy with the communistic outrages which brought them nothing but misfortune."

The statement ends by saying that the native group which had shown itself most able to lead the intellectual and mental life of their compatriots might rest assured that only those would be removed who were dangerous to society.

Political Events in Moslem Lands

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER*

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THE political affairs of mankind are still in a transitional stage after the cataclysm of the Great War. Changes of major importance continue to take place, for example in the internal organization of the nations, the formation of new political units, the structure of empires, the measure of independence and the relative standing and influence of peoples, and the grouping of the nations in alliances and leagues. Wise men of later ages will understand much better than can we what is going on in these decades. Nevertheless, both scientific curiosity and practical necessity require earnest efforts toward adequate interpretation.

The Moslem world is undergoing its full share of the transformations in progress. Political change among Islamic peoples ought to occasion no surprise, since in certain aspects at least such as local revolutions, civil struggles, dynastic substitutions, the appearance of new leaders, the decline of some peoples and the rise of others, change has been not the exception but the rule in all the Moslem centuries. Much of Western opinion, observing the durability of mosques, the conservatism of learned men, and the persistence of agricultural and commercial methods, has deceived itself with a myth of oriental changelessness

in political life as well. This is indeed a myth. Political Islam has, on the whole, changed at least as rapidly as political Christendom. Even the superiority of the West over the East in human organization, scientific knowledge and mechanical use of natural forces is a matter of only the last two centuries or so and cannot be regarded as permanently established.

In proceeding to a rapid survey of the apparent trend of recent political events in the Moslem world, a word about the earlier past is desirable. Even in the most progressive regions of Islam a complete break of continuity is at least as difficult as would have been the total destruction by the French Revolution of the France of the old régime. A modernized Islam can never become entirely Western. Its best hope, as for all Asia, is to retain what is genuinely true and permanently valuable among the results of its checkered history, and to add thereto the worth-while knowledge and practice of the West.

Mohammed, having begun his public career as the founder of a new religion, became also the head of a State, which looked for the guidance of all its functions to him, its chief executive, sole legislator, commander-in-chief, and supreme judge. The Caliphs at Medina, Damascus and Bagdad succeeded in a derivative way to his functions, both religious and governmental. In time, exchanging reality for universality, they yielded actual rule to

*Also presented by Professor Lybyer, in the form of an address, before the American Historical Association at the annual meeting at Rochester, N. Y., on Dec. 30, 1926.

others, but were continued on as living symbols of Moslem ecclesiastical and political unity. The Mamelukes at Cairo maintained a Caliph to sanction their authority. The conquering Ottoman Sultan bore away the title to Constantinople and assumed it himself, in order to enhance his greatness and establish his position as head of the Ottoman Church and State. After four centuries Abdul Hamid II made an effort to revive its universality. But the Grand National Assembly of Turkey took from the House of Osman on Nov. 1, 1922, the secular title of Sultan, and found so little left that on March 3, 1924, they could withdraw also the title of Caliph and banish the family without causing serious commotion. Now the Moslem world has no Caliph. Yet in looking toward the empty place it is perhaps more conscious of its unity than at any time in the last millennium.

The re-establishment, however, of Islamic unity in any phase, to say nothing of a restoration of its ancient domination over all sides of human life, is far from being at present the leading principle of action in Moslem lands. A much more potent idea is that of regaining complete independence of non-Moslem control. Political diversity, however obscured by theory, is nothing new in the Moslem world. The empire of one Moslem group over another was a familiar practice from the first; if such rule was beneficent, all was well; if it became unendurable, a violent revolution might subvert it, without damage to a very elastic political philosophy. But the process by which during the past three centuries one Moslem people after another has been brought under the direct rule or the controlling influence of nations of unbelievers has been accounted a very hard and cruel fate, a visitation of Allah in punishment for some acts of gross disobedience. In 1914 no Moslem State was free, unless it might be the then insignificant district of Nejd in Central Arabia. Permanent chains seemed to be riveted upon all others. Turkey was bound by the capitulations and seemed on the verge of total ruin, Persia was about to be partitioned between Britain and Russia, Afghanistan was in a British sphere of in-

fluence, and the other Moslem peoples were more closely held.

Twelve years have wrought a marvelous change. Four Moslem States—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and the Nejd-Hedjaz—can claim the possession of unhampered independence. Egypt has the name and much of the substance of self-rule. The mandated territories of Syria, Palestine, Transjordania and Iraq have more non-Moslem but less non-national control than before. In all other Moslem lands the desire for independence, however much its expression may be hindered, evidently exists and gains ground.

The movement toward independence has a double source: in the proud self-sufficiency of all Mohammedans and in the Western principle of nationalism, a political idea not necessarily connected with any religion. A large proportion of the internal changes among the nations of Islam can be summed up in the word "Westernization." The events of the Great War and the slowly fashioned peace have introduced something of a paradox. The native Christian groups of the Near East lost in numbers much more heavily than the Moslems; they were almost extinguished in Turkey. But the recession of Western control and the reduction of the proportion of Christians has been followed not by slower but by more rapid Westernization. The functions of Church and State have become more clearly discriminated. Parliamentarism in form if not in substance has become the order of the day. Secular education has been promoted greatly. Western writings and Western experts have been consulted as regards all phases of Government.

In one most important respect the tradition of Asia and Islam has been followed rather than that of Europe. In spite of republican names and consultative institutions, the realities of Government have everywhere, and particularly in the lands that are free, tended toward monarchy. The head of the State, whether or not he possesses religious leadership, and whatever be his title, is the effective political master. His Assembly, Parliament or Council is permitted to contain no opposition party. Its energies are not to be dispersed in long debates, but to be devoted to

constructive legislation and active administration.

The new Constitutions of Islamic lands provide in specific and clear language for protecting the rights of individual citizens. For instance, the Turkish fundamental law states:

Article 70—Inviolability of person; freedom of conscience, of thought, of speech, of press; freedom of travel and of contract; freedom of labor; freedom of private property, of assembly, of association; freedom of incorporation, are among the natural rights of Turks.

Article 71—The life, the property, the honor and the home of each and all are inviolable.

Article 72—Personal liberty shall not be restricted or interfered with except as provided by law.

Like the desire for independence, these rights of the citizen rest upon a double foundation: in the individualistic and democratic theory of early Islam and in the formulations of the West, such as the English Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Dangerous possibilities rest in the provisions for restricting some of these rights by law. No favor is shown in these documents to the theory and practice of Socialism and Communism, which are equally inharmonious with the political and economic individualism of Islam and "capitalistic" Europe.

These tendencies may be illustrated by brief references to recent events. The new Turkey has gone farthest in all directions. It has made its independence complete, not only by abolishing the capitulations but by negotiating an entirely new series of treaties. Even in the economic sphere it has practically refused payment of pre-war foreign debts, seized foreign-owned railways, curtailed sharply the privileges of foreign shippers and traders, and dispensed with foreign advisers except at its own invitation. The theory of its new Government is entirely secular, with all powers gathered to a single Assembly which chooses from its members a President, Ministry and interim Council. The firm idea of its leaders is to abandon all aspects of "Asiatic mentality" and replace these by "European mentality." But underneath its extremely democratic form rests the almost absolute power of Ghazi

Mustapha Kemal Pasha, which he exercises in person and through a devoted band of able assistants. He has required all men to wear the hat and has considered (be it said with less assurance) requiring all women to abandon the veil. Should he so decide, he has the power to order effectively the substitution for the Arabic of the Roman alphabet and the renaming of Constantinople after himself.

Persia adopted a Constitution twenty years ago, and the form of its Government is a limited monarchy, with a Parliament and a responsible Ministry. Conservative elements, acting largely on religious grounds, prevented three years ago the formation of a republic. But Persia likewise has produced a strong man, who has sturdily marched up the steps to the throne. The power of Riza Shah Pehlevi, however, is not as yet consolidated in the whole country, and he shows some signs of disregarding constitutional forms. Revenues controlled by a commission of American financial advisers and royalties paid by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company aid him in providing means sufficient for the support and increase of his army, the improvement of roads and the inception of the building of railroads. Irrigation reservoirs, mineral exploitation and comprehensive aid to farmers are on his program. England and Russia are competing now not to divide and dominate the land but to secure a major portion of Persian trade.

The Government of Nejd-Hedjaz rests so far much more nearly on traditional Islamic foundations than those of Turkey and Persia. The power of its Sultan-King Abdul-Aziz Ibn Saud is closely connected with his championship of the Wahabi sect of Mohammedans. He has established no Parliament, but he has devised for the Hedjaz a vice-regal Government (his son Feisal being Viceroy), with a central Council and local Councils. He uses Western-made rifles, and has permitted his son to travel as far from home as England. He understands publicity and the power of the press (in lands outside his own). He trains his puritanical followers alike for agriculture, commerce and war.

The mandated countries must here be passed over lightly. Suffice it to say that in them, under the impulse of both ex-

ternal and internal forces, Westernization proceeds steadily. Iraq and Transjordania are formally monarchical. The former has a Parliament with a responsible Ministry, while the latter is establishing a Council. Palestine would have a legislative assembly had not the Arabs objected to over-representation of the Jews in connection with the Zionist idea. Syria is unsettled, though promising negotiations are in progress. The French have tried many Western devices, including Presidents and Assemblies, but as yet the foreign control has been too apparent. Recently there has been talk of setting up here also a monarchy. In the absence of a considerable change in the general political temper of the world, these regions cannot but proceed toward independence and self-rule.

Egypt is in somewhat different case. In theory an independent hereditary monarchy, it is in practice a Parliamentary oligarchy, under partial control by Britain, but with a strong urge toward complete independence. Here also a tendency reveals itself for the great majority, when allowed to express itself by voting, to follow a single leader, Saad Pasha Zaghlul. The other lands of North Africa, Tripoli, under Italian control, and Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, under France, are in different degrees subjected to a deliberate Westernization, which leads toward similar transformations.

Movements toward organized Islamic

unity are not lacking, though none looks seriously toward the restoration of effective political empire. Riza Shah Pehlevi has called a conference of Shiites. The Ulema of Egypt summoned a conference on the Caliphate, which met in May, 1926, at Cairo. The office was defined in traditional fashion, but the delegates, sweeping aside the logical adverse opinion, voted that the restoration of the Caliphate is realizable. They provided for future gatherings, which will work out the problem of method and choice. Finally, a Moslem Congress, called independently by Ibn Saud, met at Mecca in June and July, 1926. Resolutions were passed looking toward the improvement of conditions in the Moslem Holy Land for the convenience, comfort and health of pilgrims. A permanent executive commission and annual meetings were established. The question of the Caliphate was not discussed.

Should the life of King-Sultan Ibn Saud be prolonged and his present authority be maintained, he is the most likely candidate among Sunnite Moslems for the name and shadowy authority of Caliph. He is an Arab, physically and mentally qualified, possessing actually both spiritual and temporal authority, and already effectively the protector of the holy cities. He appears to be wise enough to await the initiative of others in proposing his nomination.

Powers' New Attitude Toward China

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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GREAT BRITAIN made public in London on Christmas Day a memorandum on Chinese policy which had been presented to the Peking representatives of the Washington Conference Powers on Dec. 18, and which is printed at the end of this article. It had been foreshadowed by statements of the new British Minister, Miles Lampson, and by his conferences with the Cantonese authorities at Wuchang early in December.

The memorandum was based on full appreciation of the rising tide of Chinese nationalism and the successes of the Southern Government. It advocated practical recognition of that Government, elimination of foreign control, readiness to negotiate a revision of the treaties, amendment of the extraterritoriality system and immediate levy of the Washington Conference surtaxes for the benefit of China. A memorandum (printed with the memorandum already



IN THE BALANCE IN THE EAST
"Plenty big smash if that piece of China falls"
—Glasgow Herald

mentioned at the end of this article) sent to the United States in May, also advocating relaxation of foreign control in China, was made public at the same time.

The memorandum of Dec. 18 points out that events of the previous seven months had fully justified this position and goes on to propose that the Washington Treaty Powers issue a joint declaration of the new policy toward China. The memorandum then notes that the May suggestion was not carried out because of the breakdown of the Peking tariff conference, but that, nevertheless, the Cantonese had levied additional surtaxes on foreign trade in defiance of treaties. The British Government joined in protesting this action "with much reluctance" and merely to maintain solidarity with the other powers. This policy has had no result and, consequently, Great Britain urges the Powers to authorize immediate levy of the Washington surtaxes unconditionally throughout China, thus regularizing the position which has developed at Canton. The memorandum, after insisting that the realities of the situation

should be taken into account, declares that the treaties are now, in many respects, out of date.

The memorandum, which appears to conform to the traditional American attitude toward China, has given rise to much speculation as to its real motive. Secretary Kellogg had not expressed an opinion at this writing, though his attitude was said to be favorable. Senator Swanson of Virginia on Dec. 27 expressed astonishment at the impression conveyed that Great Britain since last May had urged a more liberal policy toward China than the United States. Japan, who fears injury to her Chinese market by customs increases and who showed no enthusiasm for the tariff conference while it was in session, is reported to oppose the British plan and to be preparing a counter-proposal for resumption of the tariff conference. France has been attempting to align her policy in the East with that of Japan, and the French Cabinet on Dec. 28 declined the collaboration suggested by Great Britain. *Le Matin*, which

generally reflects the French official attitude, commenting on the meeting of Lord Crewe, British Ambassador, and Foreign Minister Briand on Dec. 29, published the following comment:

Unhappily, Great Britain would like to dictate the Far Eastern policy for all. She has made two great errors. This was the first, and the second was the desire to act too hastily—a desire from which her prestige has suffered a great blow.

She wishes to establish a policy at the moment when there cannot be found in China any authority to speak for the whole country. Hence the British Foreign Office is immediately rendered suspect in the eyes of the Chinese, who attribute to her [Great Britain's] Machiavellian and generally dishonest purposes.

In reality Great Britain has given way to a sentiment which one rarely sees in her, and which frankly merits the characterization of foolishness. Her decisions were taken in an agitated atmosphere caused by the rivalry existing between the Admiralty, charged with naval operations on the Yangtze; the Colonial Office, with the interests of Great Britain at Hongkong, and finally the Foreign Office, which is responsible for diplomatic relations with the Peking Government.

Enormous interests in British industry and commerce are at stake. The systematic boycott by the Cantonese caused almost irreparable ruin to many British firms of 100 years' standing.

Under pressure, therefore, of big business, the memorandum was issued in the hope of fore-stalling further disaster.

The French Government, as a neighbor to the Cantonese, is profoundly concerned over the outcome of the struggle. It assuredly cannot be called less liberal than Great Britain in its wishes for China. However, it strongly feels that in asserting its attitude at this time it would be in the position of trying to influence a situation the outcome of which concerns only the Chinese.

France does not want to see China split in two, knowing that such a state would soon lead to other divisions and to further wars.

Those who are partisans of the integrity and progress of China must abstain from action at the moment when the country is passing through a critical stage. This reserve, which may not concern the rival factions, will nevertheless be appreciated by public opinion in general; and it is not surprising, therefore, that, in view of these conditions, France, like Japan and probably other powers, has refused to subscribe to a program whose intentions may be good but the publication of which has been flagrantly inopportune.

The policy is generally approved by the British press and is thought by the

Liberals to heed the warning by Lloyd George on Dec. 4 when he declared that "the Chinese are struggling for the elementary fundamental rights of every creed and self-respecting nation."

The Chinese themselves lack enthusiasm for the proposal. The Cantonese radicals do not accept it at face value and suspect a manoeuvre of British imperialism. Meetings at Hankow led by the widow and son of Sun Yat-sen and Borodin, the Russian adviser, urged an anti-British boycott, while the Cantonese demand for complete customs autonomy and immediate abolition of unequal treaties has not abated. Foreign business men in China who generally favor privilege supported by force and are afraid of the Kuomingtang are greatly concerned over the new British policy and ask at what point will the Powers make a stand against unilateral treaty abrogation.

The consequences of the action of the British Government in issuing its memorandum cannot be foreseen. It does not appear, however, that the Powers will unite on it or that it will fully satisfy the Kuomingtang.

British Memorandum on Policy in China

THE following is the complete text of the "Memorandum on Policy in China" communicated by the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking on Dec. 18, 1926, to the representatives of the Washington Treaty Powers, and released for publication on Dec. 25. To this memorandum is attached the text of a memorandum communicated to the United States Embassy in London on May 28, 1926.

For some time past His Majesty's Government have watched with growing anxiety the situation in China, and they believe that this anxiety will be shared by the Governments of the interested Powers. Five years ago the Powers assembled at Washington and, taking into consideration the circumstances then existing in China, they agreed among themselves, in conjunction with the representatives of the Chinese Government, that their future policy should be guided by certain general principles designed to safeguard the integrity and independence of China, to promote her political and economic development and the rehabilitation of her finances. It was agreed to grant her certain increases on her treaty tariff in order

to provide the revenue required for these purposes. It was further agreed that a commission should examine the question of extraterritoriality with a view to amending the system now in force by the elimination of abuses and accretions and by the removal of unnecessary limitations on China's sovereignty.

Unfortunately the Tariff Conference did not meet for four years, and during that period the situation had greatly deteriorated. During a succession of civil wars the authority of the Peking Government had diminished almost to vanishing point, while in the South a powerful Nationalist Government at Canton definitely disputed the right of the Government at Peking to speak on behalf of China or enter into binding engagements in her name. This process of disintegration, civil war and waning central authority continued with increased acceleration after the Tariff Conference had met until eventually the conference negotiations came to an end because there was no longer a Government with whom to negotiate.

3. The Commission on Extraterritoriality has meanwhile completed its labors and presented its report, but here, again, we are faced with a similar difficulty due to the disintegration of China. The recommendations contained in the report, while suggesting certain reforms capable of being carried into immediate effect, pre-

suppose for their full execution the existence of a Government possessing authority to enter into engagements on behalf of the whole of China.

4. During all these civil wars it has been the consistent policy of his Majesty's Government to abstain from any interference between the warring factions of rival Governments. Despite the disorders which civil war engenders and the grievous losses inflicted on the vast commercial interests, both Chinese and foreign, his Majesty's Government have declined to associate themselves with any particular faction or to interfere in any way in the civil commotions. His Majesty's Government believe that the Powers have adopted a similar attitude and that this is and will continue to be the only right attitude to maintain.

5. The situation which exists in China today is thus entirely different from that which faced the Powers at the time they framed the Washington treaties. In the present state of confusion, though some progress has been made by means of local negotiation and agreements with regional Governments, it has not been possible for the Powers to proceed with the larger program of treaty revision which was foreshadowed at Washington or to arrive at a settlement of any of the outstanding questions relating to the position of foreigners in China. The political disintegration in China has, however, been accompanied by the growth of a powerful Nationalist movement, which aimed at gaining for China an equal place among the nations, and any failure to meet this movement with sympathy and understanding would not respond to the real intentions of the Powers toward China.

6. His Majesty's Government, after carefully reviewing the position, desire to submit their considered opinion as to the course which the Washington Treaty Powers should now adopt. His Majesty's Government propose that these Governments shall issue a statement setting forth the essential facts of the situation; declaring their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision and all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a government with authority to negotiate; and stating their intention pending the establishment of such a government to pursue a constructive policy in harmony with the spirit of the Washington Conference but developed and adapted to meet the altered circumstances of the present time.

7. His Majesty's Government propose that in this joint declaration the Powers should make it clear that in their constructive policy they desire to go as far as possible toward meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation. They should abandon the idea that the economic and political development of China can only be secured under foreign tutelage, and should declare their readiness to recognize her right to the enjoyment of tariff autonomy as soon as she herself has settled and promulgated a new national tariff. They should expressly disclaim any intention of forcing foreign control upon an unwilling China. While calling upon China to maintain that respect for the sanctity of treaties which is the primary obligation common to all civilized States, the Powers should yet recognize both the essential justice of the Chinese claim for treaty revision and the difficulty under present conditions of negotiating new treaties in place of the old, and they should therefore modify their traditional attitude of rigid insistence on the strict letter of treaty rights. During this possibl

very prolonged period of uncertainty the Powers can only, in the view of his Majesty's Government, adopt an expectant attitude and endeavor to shape developments so far as possible in conformity with the realities of the situation so that ultimately, when treaty revision becomes possible, it will be found that part at least of the revision has already been effected on satisfactory lines. It would therefore be wise to abandon the policy of ineffective protest over minor matters, reserving protest—which should then be made effective by united action—only for cases where vital interests are at stake. Every case should be considered on its merits and the declaration should show that the Powers are prepared to consider in a sympathetic spirit any reasonable proposals that these Chinese authorities, wherever situated, may make, even if contrary to strict interpretation of treaty rights, in return for fair and considerate treatment of foreign interests by them. The declaration should show that it is the policy of the Powers to endeavor to maintain harmonious relations with China without waiting for or insisting on the prior establishment of a strong Central Government.

8. It is the earnest hope of his Majesty's Government that the Powers will agree to adopt the principles of the policy outlined above and apply them to the realities of the present situation. Certain recommendations in the report of the Commission on Extraterritoriality referred to in paragraph 3 above and certain other reforms not covered by that commission's report, but falling under the general heading of extraterritoriality, can be carried into effect even in present conditions without great delay. There is, however, one step of more immediate importance which in the opinion of his Majesty's Government the Powers should agree to take at once. His Majesty's Government believe that an endeavor should be made to undo the evil results which have flowed from the failure of the Tariff Conference to implement the promises as to tariff increases made by the Powers to China nearly five years ago, and they propose, therefore, that the Powers should agree to the immediate unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes.

9. By the China Customs Treaty signed at Washington on the 6th of February, 1922, the Powers promised to grant China certain tariff increases (commonly known as the Washington surtaxes) "for such purposes and subject to such conditions" as the special conference might determine. That special conference is the Tariff Conference which, after a delay of nearly four years, met in Peking on the 26th of October, 1925, and has now to all intents and purposes definitely failed. The promised surtaxes have not been granted. The foreign delegations were not satisfied with the assurances which the Chinese delegation offered at the session of the 18th of March as to the purposes to which the Chinese Government would themselves devote the proceeds of the surtaxes. They were prepared to grant them only upon conditions which ensured that the proceeds would be placed under foreign control and applied in great part to the liquidation of the unsecured debt.

10. From the very outset his Majesty's Government were opposed to the question of the unsecured debt being dealt with by the Tariff Conference at all, and they frankly expressed this view in a confidential memorandum communicated to the Consortium Powers early in 1923. They foresaw that it might defeat the intentions of the Washington Conference,

which were to assist the economic and political development of China and to relax—not to tighten—foreign control. They held that, the object of the concessions proposed at the Washington Conference being to benefit China, the principal purposes to which the customs surtax should be devoted ought to be productive objects, such as railway construction, and social or economic reforms which would be a permanent benefit to China as a whole. The most promising of these reforms was in their opinion the abolition of li-kin, which, moreover, was expressly contemplated in the treaty itself.

11. It has been argued that the debt consolidation would also be a permanent benefit to China because it would restore China's credit. This argument would doubtless be valid if there were a Government in effective control of the whole country, but in China today debt consolidation could only enable the faction which happened to be in power in Peking to resort to fresh ruinous and unproductive borrowing. His Majesty's Government were therefore opposed to making the consolidation of the unsecured debt one of the purposes to be attained by the Tariff Conference, although their own nationals were directly interested in the funding of some of these debts.

12. A further objection to the inclusion of the unsecured debt among the subjects to be dealt with at the Tariff Conference was brought into relief by the grant in principle of tariff autonomy. That raised at once in acute form the question of control over customs revenues. His Majesty's Government viewed with grave misgiving the proposal that foreign control should be extended over additional revenues which might be increased by tariff autonomy. In 1921 it was natural that the Powers should demand guarantees for the due fulfillment of the benevolent purposes which the Washington Conference aimed at achieving. But what might have been practicable in 1921 was no longer possible in 1926. It was obvious that China would not now submit to any extension of foreign control either for debt consolidation or for the abolition of li-kin, and it seemed to his Majesty's Government that for the Powers to unite in an attempt to impose control upon an unwilling China would be entirely opposed to the spirit of the Washington treaties, and to the policy which his Majesty's Government had consistently advocated. At the same time his Majesty's Government felt that it was essential that the Washington promises, so long overdue, should be implemented. Accordingly, on the 28th of May last, in reply to an inquiry from the United States Government as to the attitude of his Majesty's Government toward the Tariff Conference, they proposed in a memorandum, copy of which is annexed hereto,* that the Powers should abstain from any attempt to exact guarantees or conditions, but should forthwith authorize the levy of the surtaxes.

13. Owing to the collapse of the conference no action on this proposal was possible. The situation, however, suddenly developed in the very direction which was anticipated when the proposal was made. The Cantonese did, in fact, seize the Washington surtaxes by levying, in defiance of the treaties, certain additional taxes on the foreign trade of the port. His Majesty's Government have with much reluctance joined in the protest against the new taxes for the sake of maintaining solidarity with the Powers, but they are not satisfied that this is the right policy for the present

situation. They regret that they did not more insistently press their views at an earlier stage of the conference, but they think that it is still not too late, despite the protest already made, to return to the alternative course proposed in the memorandum of 28th of May. His Majesty's Government therefore strongly urge that the Powers should now authorize the immediate levy of the Washington surtaxes unconditionally throughout China. They hope that this may provide a basis for regularizing the position at Canton.

14. The principal objection that will probably be made to this proposal is that in strict logic it would amount to condoning a breach of treaty. This argument, however, does not sufficiently take into account the realities of the situation. The basic facts of the present situation are that the treaties are now admittedly in many respects out of date, and that in any attempt to secure revision the Chinese are confronted on the one hand with the internal difficulty of their own disunion and on the other with the external difficulty of obtaining the unanimous concurrence of the Powers. The latest instance of this is the failure of the attempt to alter the tariff of 1858. His Majesty's Government attach the greatest importance to the sanctity of treaties, but they believe that this principle may best be maintained by a sympathetic adjustment of treaty rights to the equitable claims of the Chinese. Protests should be reserved for cases where there is an attempt at wholesale repudiation of treaty obligations or an attack upon the legitimate and vital interests of foreigners in China, and in these cases the protests should be made effective by the united action of the Powers.

15. His Majesty's Government have consistently carried out the obligation of full and frank consultation imposed on all the Powers alike by Article 7 of the Nine-Power Pact, and it has been their constant aim—sometimes even when this involved a sacrifice of their own opinion—to maintain the solidarity of the Powers. It is in pursuance of this aim that his Majesty's Government are now communicating to the Powers this statement of the principles by which they believe that policy should be guided in future. They feel assured that the Powers will share the anxiety of his Majesty's Government to act toward China in the spirit which inspired the Washington treaties, and it is their earnest hope that the Powers will agree that that spirit cannot better be fulfilled than by adopting the policy which is now presented for their consideration.

16. It seems to his Majesty's Government that the first step toward the carrying of this new policy into effect should be the immediate unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes. Let it be supposed that the grant of the surtaxes might favor one faction at the expense of the others and so provide a further incentive to civil war, his Majesty's Government deem it important to point out that, as no conditions would be attached to the grant, the proceeds of the surtaxes would not necessarily be remitted by the commissioners of customs to the custodian banks at Shanghai. It would in each case be for the competent Chinese authorities to decide all questions as to the disposition and banking of these additional revenues. His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn at the earliest possible moment whether the Powers agree to the unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes.

ANNEX.

Memorandum Communicated to United States Embassy, May 28, 1926.

His Majesty's Government have received through the United States Embassy in London a message from the United States Government inquiring whether his Majesty's Government endorse the attitude ascribed to the British delegation at Peking of desiring to abandon the negotiations at Peking and break up the Tariff Conference; and expressing the hope that his Majesty's Government will continue to cooperate with the other interested Powers in bringing to a conclusion the task which was begun last October.

2. His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that the report received by them that the British delegation desire to withdraw from the negotiations at Peking appears to be based on a complete misunderstanding. His Majesty's Government have no intention whatever of breaking up the Tariff Conference. It is true that the question has been considered whether at the present juncture it might not be convenient to arrange a brief suspension of the conference over the Summer months. It was realized, however, that in existing circumstances suspension of the conference might prove to be more prolonged than was intended, and in order to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding as to the sincerity of the Powers, his Majesty's Government considered it to be of the greatest importance that, before even such a brief suspension as above contemplated took place, there must first be a complete liquidation of the promises made at Washington.

3. The British delegation in Peking fully shared this view, and appreciated the prime necessity of liquidating the Washington Treaty. A considerable interchange of views has, however, taken place between the Foreign Office and the delegation in regard to the proceedings of the conference on the subject of the unsecured debt; and it is probable that the misunderstanding to which reference is made above has arisen in consequence of the attitude which the delegation has been instructed to take on this matter, and which was formally stated by the chief British delegate at the meeting at the Netherlands Legation on the 6th of May.

4. The United States Government will no doubt recollect that his Majesty's Government were from the first averse to the imposition on the Chinese Government of any scheme of consolidation of the unsecured debt as part of the work of the Tariff Conference, and that they only agreed later and with great reluctance to the discussion of any such scheme at the conference. If the schemes of the foreign delegations for the consolidation of the unsecured debt should postulate too strict a control over China's customs revenues (shortly to be increased by tariff autonomy) his Majesty's Government are afraid that a dangerous deadlock may arise, for the discussions on this subject show that the Chinese, though willing to bind themselves to devote a proportion of their revenues to the unsecured debt, have declined to allow the details of debt consolidation to be dealt with by the Tariff Conference, and will refuse to submit to any extension of foreign control—for that or any other purpose—over China's customs revenues.

5. His Majesty's Government, after full consideration and prolonged consultation with their delegation in Peking, have come to the conclusion that, while they are ready to agree to any reasonable scheme for dealing with the unsecured debt put forward by the Chinese and agreed to by the other Powers, it would not be right to associate themselves with any attempt to force upon the Chinese a greater degree of foreign control over the revenues required for that purpose than they are prepared voluntarily to concede. A policy involving increase of foreign control, and capable of being regarded as an encroachment on that sovereignty and independence of China which the Powers agreed at Washington to respect, is so fundamentally opposed to the traditional policy of the United States toward China that his Majesty's Government are disposed to believe that the State Department will share their anxiety on this subject.

6. It is true that his Majesty's Government originally desired to exact proper guarantees from China in regard to the abolition of li-kin as a condition precedent to the grant of the Washington surtaxes, but they have come to the conclusion that, in the altered circumstances and changed atmosphere of today, any attempt to insist upon guarantees against the will of the Chinese Government would only result in postponing indefinitely the liquidation of the Washington promises. They are as anxious as the United States Government fully to implement these promises at the earliest possible moment, and believe that it would be contrary to the intentions of both Governments, both at and subsequent to the Washington Conference, to subordinate the fulfillment of these promises to the imposition upon China of a scheme for the consolidation of her unsecured debt and extension of foreign control over her customs revenues. Any failure to implement the Washington Treaty might create a very dangerous situation, and his Majesty's Government now therefore hold the view that if any reasonably satisfactory assurances are given by the Chinese Government as to the use which it proposes to make of the new revenues the Powers should accept such assurances, abstain from any attempt to impose control or exact guarantees, and forthwith authorize the levy of the surtaxes. They feel confident that a policy, so closely in accord with the friendship and generosity always displayed by the United States of America toward the people of China, will receive the full and cordial support of the United States Government.

Foreign Office, May 28, 1926.

CURRENT HISTORY—PART II. [Continued]

The Historians' Chronicle of the World

By the Board of Current History Associates

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PERIOD ENDED JANUARY 9, 1927

The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University

MULTIFARIOUS are the events which make up American history in these stirring times. A hundred and fifteen million lively people, accustomed to talk and to read the newspapers and to form opinions on all pending subjects from an organized movement against chewing gum to a United States of the World, think, say and disbelieve an immense number of things in a month. Furthermore, we have not one but forty-nine Governments within the continental area. The indefatigable newspapers record happenings and expressions so fast that they tread upon each other's heels. Out of the several thousand incidents picked up and placed on record by the press in the last thirty-one days, what best reveal the real temper and spirit of the American people?

Despite the continuing questions of international relations, which every day rise up in new forms, the main interest of Americans is always within their own borders, and, as usual, the affairs of New York State and city interest the whole country. New York has taken new ground with regard to the conservation of State resources. In no long time the whole question of coal and oil fuel and of water power will have to be treated together, first by each State within its own limits, and then necessarily by interstate understandings for the collection and distribution of superpower. New

York is also the geographical site of the immensely important question of canalization and power development of the St. Lawrence region. The recent report of Secretary Hoover's commission favoring the use of Canadian territory brings in another complication; for Canada is now essentially an independent nation, and it remains to be seen exactly what the political effect will be of a great water and power conduit, crossing foreign territory from the Lake States to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At the other end of the country seven States are engaged in a controversy, which to some degree involves the neighboring country of Mexico, over the use and subdivision of the waters of the Colorado. Thus there springs up among the States of the Union a system somewhat resembling the "regional agreements" between groups of European nations for common purposes, as against the adjustment of such controversies by a central authority.

Struggles for power, such as that now going on between the City of New York and the State of New York, also show themselves between the State Governments and the Federal Government. The Federal Government long played the part of benevolent uncle toward the States. It expended money for river and harbor improvements. It subsidized and greatly encouraged the building of good roads throughout the

Union. It supported with influence and funds an elaborate system of vocational education. It undertook to deal with the question of liquor. The States took the appropriations, though they might scoff at the system. Nowadays there is a great cry for State rights. No cry, however loud, can possibly do away with the hard fact that the United States of America has sole control over foreign relations and engagements; that it has practically complete authority over the making of war by land and sea; that it has the sole right of regulation of interstate commerce (which is probably eight-tenths of all the commerce within the United States) and of foreign commerce; that it has immense powers over banking and corporations doing an interstate business, over the coinage and over the postoffice, which is on the whole the largest business establishment in the world, and that Federal courts have jurisdiction affecting citizens of various States and of States themselves. Not one of the powers that have been mentioned can possibly be transferred to the States or subdivided. The control of the liquor trade is of a different character from most of the powers just enumerated; but it stands on the same constitutional basis as the authority over interstate commerce. Whatever the defects of prohibition enforcement, there can be no efficient prohibition if the States make their own laws on manufacture, sale and internal transit.

Popular government implies the sacred right of any group of the voters to organize against, work against, shout against and vote against any other group. Nevertheless, it does not seem to have been the intention of the framers of the Constitution to construct a machinery of government in which the parts were to be constantly in a discord. The fathers of the Constitution seem to have expected that the two houses would usually agree and that the President and Congress would always find means of getting on together amicably. They did foresee difficulty in settling who was duly elected to either of the houses, and in the early treatment of Matthew Lyon, member of Congress from Vermont, and of Henry Clay, elected Senator under the prescribed age, the houses accepted the responsibility. The pending questions of "Senators-per-

haps-elect" from Vermont and Pennsylvania and Illinois seem likely to develop enlarged powers over the decision as to what are the qualifications of members of Congress.

Relations between the President and Congress have also grown tense in the last few years. Every President commonly depends on a body of friends of his own party, especially in the Senate, who will prepare the way for harmonious action. Both the Senate and the House, including the Republican members, like to hold the President to a strict accountability. The recent decision of the Supreme Court, confirming the general practice of more than a century, reaffirms the right of the President to remove any executive officials, other than military and naval. Thereby is insured that unity of administration which puts the President so far above any Governor of a State in weight and efficiency and continuity of policy.

No function of Government within the United States, national, State or local, is so completely nationalized and centralized as the power over foreign relations. It is wholly divested from the States. It is outside the scope of the lower House, except for its appropriation power. The Senate, by its right of confirmation of diplomatic appointment and by its participation in treaty making, enjoys a share of the responsibility; and the experience of the Versailles Treaty in its unhappy progress through the Senate has shown how a third of the Senate may block the path of negotiations and treaty.

Certainly in the last few decades the Senate has made a more determined stand against the White House than in an earlier period. The Chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, even if out of party relations or out of harmony with the President for the time being, is virtually a parliamentary foreign minister. Nowadays that Chairman measures his strength with the President.

Passing by for the time such important subjects as the relation of the President to taxation, to agricultural betterment and to immigration, it is important to take note of the immense weight of the Senate in matters commonly considered a prerogative of

the President. Shall the President call another disarmament conference? Not if certain Senators can prevent it. Shall the United States send delegates to the approaching International Economic Conference? Not if the Senate thinks that it seems like joining in the activities of the League of Nations. Shall the President take the same side as the forty intellectuals of Columbia University and send delegates to a World Conference on Debts, which conference shall have absolute power to bind the United States without any further reference to President or Senate? Not while the Senate exists, to say nothing of the presumable attitude of the Supreme Court of the United States toward this absolute disregard of the Constitution, precedent and common sense.

Just now the most significant part of our

diplomacy points not eastward but southward. The United States, following out a long-continued policy in Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama and Nicaragua, has undertaken to decide who shall be President of that last-named tumultuous republic. Acting in accordance with a policy begun by President Taft and kept alive ever since, the action of the United States may be outside the usual practices under international law, but no more so than the sending of troops to Cuba in 1906. This is not an incident but a policy closely connected with the Monroe Doctrine. The brush with Mexico on that question is entirely accidental; for, whatever may be our control of other Latin-American powers, nobody wants to be made responsible for the government or misgovernment or dis-government of Mexico.

International Events

THE British Government on Dec. 15 paid into the American Treasury the very considerable sum of \$92,950,000, of which \$67,950,000 represented the semi-annual instalment of interest and \$25,000,000 a payment in reduction of the debt. Up to date a total of \$547,830,000 has been paid on the interest account and the debt has been reduced by \$95,000,000. When one takes into consideration the disturbed condition of British commerce and industry, the punctuality and amount of these payments are little short of amazing. There is no disposition in any responsible quarter to ask for a revision of the settlement. In a statement made last August Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, said in substance that, although the debts owed to Great Britain by her allies were greater than her obligations to the United States, she was willing at any time to wipe the slate clean; but as that solution did not commend itself to the United States, they were prepared to meet their engagements.

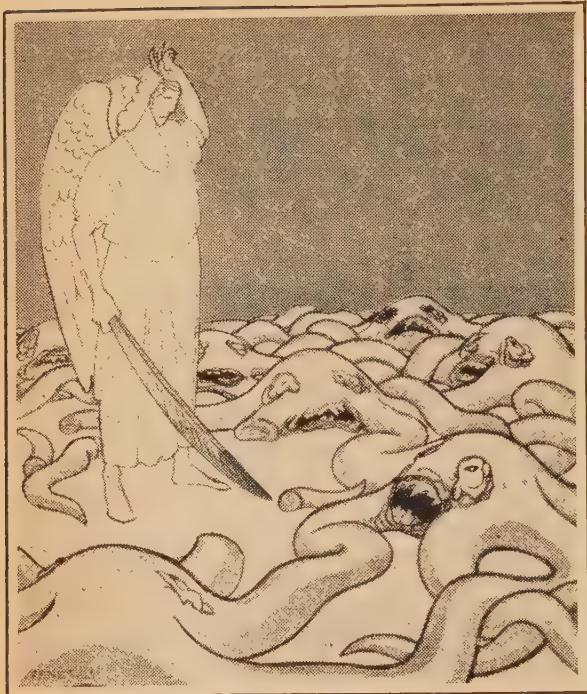
Despite there being little evidence in Congress or outside of any disposition to reconsider our attitude toward the debt settlements, statements such as that issued on Dec. 19 by a group of Columbia Univer-

sity professors are not without their effect on public opinion. The manifesto, signed by forty-two members of the Faculty of Political Science, criticized the existing settlements as unsound in principle and as fostering a deep sense of grievance against us. They proposed an international conference, to which our representatives should go "with directions to determine what settlement compatible with the demands of justice would seem best calculated to promote the future peace and prosperity of the world." This occasioned much comment in the domestic and foreign press, and on Jan. 7 Adrien Dariac, Chairman of the French Commission in charge of the Bérenger treaty, sent a reply, agreeing to the proposed international conference and urging reconsideration of the whole problem.

THE GERMAN-ITALIAN TREATY

An arbitration treaty between Germany and Italy was signed at Rome on Dec. 29. Although the text has not yet been published, it is authoritatively stated that it differs in no material particular from the others in the Locarno series.

Germany has previously concluded eight similar pacts. A permanent conciliation



ARMAMENTS AND THE LEAGUE

"What a job! There is no killing this monster."
—Nebelspalter, Munich

committee of five members will be formed to study controversial questions and to attempt to bring them to solution. Each Government will appoint a national as a member of the committee, and, acting jointly, the three remaining members, none of whom may be German or Italian citizens. Within six months after a case has been submitted to it the committee must deliver an opinion, and this must be accepted or rejected within three months by the powers concerned. If rejected by either party, the case may be carried either to the Permanent Court or to a special arbitral tribunal.

The opening of the first public radiophone service station between the United States and England on Jan. 7 was an event of international significance, as important, indeed, as the establishment of the first transoceanic telegraph. Conversations between New York and London were quite clear and audible.

J. T. G.

The United States

POLITICAL tension in the Senate over the appointment of Colonel Frank L. Smith, Senator-elect from Illinois, to fill a vacancy for the remainder of the present session was somewhat relieved by the failure of Colonel Smith to appear when Congress reassembled on Jan. 3, and by a report from Chicago that he would take a few days for further consideration. Several Senators, however, announced in debate their intention to oppose the seating of Colonel Smith in case he presented himself.

Counsel for Senator Gould of Maine, whose election is under investigation by a Senate committee because of an alleged improper payment of money to a Canadian official fourteen years ago in connection with a railway contract, on Jan. 4 challenged the right of the Senate to inquire into a transaction which occurred years

before the election, and which was openly and generally discussed during the campaign. The contention was regarded as having an important bearing upon the case of Colonel Smith, and also upon that of Representative Vare, Senator-elect from Pennsylvania, against whose admission strong opposition has been expressed.

In his last message to the Pennsylvania Legislature, on Jan. 4, Governor Gifford Pinchot, whose term expires on Jan. 18, vigorously denounced gang rule in politics, the Mellon machine in Pittsburgh and the Mitten machine in Philadelphia, and the election of Representative Vare. "I refused to support Mr. Vare in the election," he declared, "on the sound and proper ground that his nomination was partly bought and partly stolen, and I have no doubt that he deserves to be and will be excluded from the Senate. But

whether he is or not, the mere fact that a Senator-elect from Pennsylvania is in danger of losing his seat because of scandalous expenditures in the primary and notorious cheating in the election is a bitter disgrace to this Commonwealth."

THE NAVAL CONTROVERSY

The Navy appropriation bill, carrying appropriations of more than \$314,000,000, was reported to the House of Representatives from the Committee on Appropriations on Jan. 3. No provision was made in the bill for the construction of the three cruisers and two rigid dirigibles authorized by Congress in 1924, and appropriations applicable to the expenses of naval cruising were materially reduced. The committee refused, however, to accept a reduction of 1,200 men in the Marine Corps as proposed in the budget.

With a view, apparently, to checking an imminent revolt of Republicans in the House, Representative Tilson of Connecticut, the Republican floor leader, announced on Jan. 4 that he was considering the submission of an amendment making an appropriation to begin work on the three cruisers. It was reported that the amendment had been discussed with President Coolidge, although the President had not given it his approval. Further impetus to the demand for a stronger navy was given when the Naval Affairs Committee of the House registered its approval of the elevation of the guns of two American battleships, in order to make their range equal to that of corresponding British ships. A bill providing for similar alterations in nine other battleships, substantially identical with a bill which was defeated in 1924 because of the opposition of Representative Butler of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the committee, was reintroduced by Representative Britten of Illinois.

The opening debate, which showed strong support for the proposed appropriations, was marked by an attack upon Mr. Coolidge by Representative Black of New York, Democrat, who charged that the President was "playing politics" with the

navy. "In this bill," he declared, "the House will decide whether Congress considers the political future of Calvin Coolidge of more consequence than the safety of the Republic." Mr. Coolidge, apparently moved by reports that he had changed his position, informed Representative French, Chairman of the naval subcommittee, on Jan. 5, that the budget as transmitted to Congress represented his "best judgment," but that he had already expressed to some members of the committee his willingness to approve "an authorization of more cruisers." The letter left it to be inferred that the President would not approve an appropriation for actual construction now.

On Jan. 6 a coalition of Republicans and Democrats put through an amendment to the bill appropriating \$200,000 for construction of a rigid dirigible in the face of the President's expressed opposition, but on Jan. 7 the Tilson amendment for an appropriation to start work on three cruisers was defeated—a victory for the Administration.

PROHIBITION UNDER FIRE

Vigorous attacks upon the administration of the prohibitory laws were launched



THE FIGHT IS ON

in both houses at the reopening of the session. A Senate resolution of Jan. 4 called upon Secretary Mellon for information regarding the part taken by Wayne B. Wheeler and the Anti-Saloon League in prescribing the use of poisonous chemicals in denatured alcohol, and the issuance of "personal padlock injunctions" by two Federal judges in New York was sharply assailed in the House. The employment in New York of convicted lawbreakers and rum-runners as enforcement agents, together with systematic espionage and telephone-tapping by Federal employes, were specifically charged in the House on Jan. 5. It was announced that hearings on the bill to enable the Government to acquire existing stocks of medicinal liquors would be begun by the House Ways and Means Committee on Jan. 11.

TAX REFUND AND TAX REVISION

An appropriation of \$174,120,177 to enable the Treasury Department to refund taxes illegally collected in 1926 and previous years was asked for by Secretary Mellon on Dec. 28, 1926. Some 287,000 taxpayers were reported to be entitled to refunds of amounts ranging from one cent to several hundred thousand dollars. Most of the refunds, it was explained, arose under a former excess profits tax law which is no longer in force. The appropriation asked for, it was further pointed out, involved no depletion of the Treasury surplus, since the back taxes collected during the year were expected to amount to nearly \$400,000,000.

The Administration plan for an abatement of a portion of the income taxes payable in the second half of the present fiscal year, and a Democratic proposal of a \$335,000,000 tax reduction, were both rejected by the Ways and Means Committee of the House on Dec. 11, 1926, by a unanimous vote.

PHILIPPINES ADMINISTRATION

The report (the full text of which is printed elsewhere in these pages) of Colonel Carmi Thompson, who was asked by President Coolidge to make a survey of

conditions in the Philippines, was transmitted to Congress on Dec. 22. It was regarded as unlikely that Congress would act upon the report at the present session.

OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The main report of the Reed Committee of the Senate, appointed to investigate campaign expenditures in the recent Fall elections, was made public on Dec. 22. The committee found that the charges of irregularities in campaign expenditures in Missouri, Oregon and Washington were not sustained, and submitted without recommendation a summary of the evidence obtained in regard to the Senatorial campaign in Pennsylvania. A partial report on Illinois had already been laid before the Senate on Dec. 16, and a report on Indiana was expected to follow.

Elaborate regulations regarding airway traffic, including aircraft engaged in foreign commerce, were promulgated by the Department of Commerce on Dec. 29.

In his inaugural address at Albany on Jan. 1, Governor Smith of New York announced his willingness to accept the presidency of the United States. "No man would stand before this intelligent gathering," he declared, "and say that he was not receptive to the greatest position the world has to give to any one, but I can say this—that I will do nothing to achieve it except to give to the people of the State the kind and character of service that will make me deserve it." On Jan. 5 at a Democratic rally in New York City he was presented to the nation as a Presidential candidate.

A resolution to "take the initiative in bringing about a more effective cooperation between all groups or organizations interested in opposing legislative restriction on freedom of teaching in State-supported institutions, and in defending the principle of the separation of Church and State in educational matters," was adopted by the American Association of University Professors at its meeting at Philadelphia on Dec. 31.

W. MacD.

Mexico and Central America

THE new Mexican petroleum law, which has been the subject of extensive diplomatic correspondence between the Governments of the United States and Mexico since its passage in December, 1925, became effective at midnight on Dec. 31, 1926. The law, by putting into operation a provision of the present Mexican Constitution which went into effect on May 1, 1917, vests in the nation the direct ownership of all petroleum deposits. Under the law and the regulations thereunder, owners of the subsoil who acquired their titles prior to May 1, 1917, were called upon, under penalty of forfeiture, to apply before midnight of Dec. 31, 1926, for "confirmation" of their titles and then to exchange them for "concessions" of fifty years' duration, counting from the time when the exploitation works began. This statute has been held by Secretary of State Kellogg to be both retroactive and confiscatory, on the ground that "it converts exclusive ownership under positive Mexican law into a mere authorization to exercise rights for a limited period of time."

From Mexico City it was reported on Jan. 1 that seventeen American petroleum companies, representing 70 per cent. of Mexican petroleum production, failed to comply with the provisions of the law before midnight of Dec. 31, 1926. As a result, all the property of these companies, estimated to be worth approximately \$500 000 000, theoretically reverted to the Mexican nation. President Calles on Dec. 29 declined to grant the request of several American petroleum companies for an extension of time on the new petroleum law. The first day of January passed, however, without the Mexican Government having made any move to nationalize or otherwise dispose of the vast petroleum properties which theoretically had reverted to the ownership of the nation.

Since the publication on Nov. 24 of the last four notes exchanged between the Governments of the United States and Mexico relating to the alien land and petroleum laws, both Governments have maintained strict diplomatic silence concerning the matters in dispute. From Mexico City it

was reported on Jan. 1 that President Calles, shortly before the petroleum law went into effect, issued a statement in which he reiterated his intention that the laws should not be interpreted in such a way as to harm legitimate interests and investments in Mexico. The alien land law is due to go into effect on Jan. 21.

Secretary of State Kellogg on Dec. 16, in answer to a request made by Congressman Boylan of New York, declined to "make public, without their knowledge or consent, the names of American citizens or firms, or the particulars regarding their complaints, whose cases have been or may be the subject of correspondence" between the Governments of the United States and Mexico. Secretary Kellogg also declined to make public "a summary of the answers which have been received in regard to such cases from the Mexican Government."

The object of a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives on Dec. 13 by Representative LaGuardia of New York was to ascertain whether the Department of State had inspired propaganda concerning alleged communistic tendencies in Mexico, Mexico's attitude toward Nicaragua and her activities in Central America. The basis for the resolution lay in the fact that on Nov. 17 various news associations, including The Associated Press, distributed a news dispatch reporting the deep concern with which officials of the Department of State viewed "the spectre of a Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony" intervening in Central America "between the United States and the Panama Canal." After the publication of the dispatch the Department of State was attacked by a Washington correspondent of a St. Louis newspaper as having manufactured and propagated malicious news, and Assistant Secretary of State Olds was specifically charged with having inspired propaganda concerning alleged communistic tendencies in Mexico.

Secretary Kellogg, on Jan. 3, issued a reply to this resolution, in which he denied that the State Department or any of its officers had made use of any news agency to put out information about Mexico with-

out assuming official responsibility for it. He declined to discuss the subject of whether the department had accurate information regarding Bolshevik activities in Mexico, Mexico's attitude toward Nicaragua, and so forth, on the grounds that such discussion would be "incompatible with the public interest at this time." The subject was, however, reopened on Jan. 6 by Senator Wheeler, who demanded that the Foreign Relations Committee investigate the question.

President Calles on Dec. 23 issued a decree which prohibits for one year the importation of all war materials, including firearms, ammunitions of every kind, poison gas and armored cars. The same day the Department of State disclosed that it had recently denied an application from the Mexican Government for license to export ten airplanes purchased by it in the United States.

As a further step in the Government's program of economy, a cut, ranging from 5 to 10 per cent., in the salaries of all Government employes was decreed on Dec. 24.

Panama

PRESIDENT CHIARI presented to the Panaman National Assembly on Dec. 16, 1926, the treaty signed on July 28 between Panama and the United States. The contents of the treaty were officially made known in Washington on Dec. 20. The most significant provisions of the treaty are found in Article XI, as follows:

The Republic of Panama agrees to cooperate in all possible ways with the United States in the protection and defense of the Panama Canal. Consequently, the Republic of Panama will consider itself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States should be a belligerent, and in order to render more effective the defense of the Canal will, if necessary in the opinion of the United States Government, turn over to the United States in all the territory of the Republic of Panama, during the period of actual or threatened hostilities, the control and operation of wireless and radio communication, aircraft, aviation centres and aerial navigation.

The civil and military authorities of the Republic of Panama shall impose and enforce all ordinances and decrees required for the maintenance of public order and for the safety and defense of the territory of the Republic of Panama during such actual order or threatened hostilities,

and the United States shall have the direction and control of all military operations in any part of the territory of the Republic of Panama.

For the purpose of the efficient protection of the Canal, the Republic of Panama agrees that in time of peace the armed forces of the United States shall have free transit throughout the Republic for manoeuvres or other military purposes, provided, however, that due notice will be given to the Government of the Republic of Panama every time armed troops should enter its territory. It is understood that this provision for notification does not apply to military or naval aircraft of the United States.

Among the other provisions of the treaty the following are worthy of especial mention: The United States has the right to expropriate privately owned lands, and a joint commission is provided for which is to decide the value of claims at the time of expropriation; the use, occupation and control in perpetuity of Manzanilla Island, at the Atlantic terminus of the canal, and Colon harbor are granted to the United States; alcoholic liquors are permitted to pass through the canal under seal.

From Geneva it was reported on Dec. 22 that officials of the League of Nations were of the opinion that the agreement on the part of Panama to follow the United States into war conflicts with Articles XI, XVI and XX of the Covenant of the League. The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate had not acted upon the treaty before the Christmas recess of Congress.

Nicaragua

THE latest development in the Nicaraguan situation (treated elsewhere in this issue) was the unexpected and dramatic action taken by President Coolidge on Jan. 10, in sending to Congress a formal printed message defending his policy in Nicaragua. The document was chiefly devoted to a review of the events leading to the adoption of the Administration's policy. The statement virtually charged the Mexican Government with seeking to set up in Nicaragua a Government hostile to the United States, with an implied menace to the Panama Canal. In one of the most striking passages of his message, the President said: "I have the most conclusive evidence that arms and munitions in large quantities have been on

several occasions since August, 1926, shipped to the revolutionists in Nicaragua. Boats carrying these munitions have been fitted out in Mexican ports and some of the munitions bear evidence of having belonged to the Mexican Government. * * * It also appears that the ships were fitted out with the full knowledge of, and, in some cases, with the encouragement of Mexican officials, and were, in one instance at least, commanded by a Mexican naval reserve officer."

The message further made it plain that the United States would not tolerate these conditions as evidencing an attempt by Mexico to gain control of the Nicaraguan Government: "The United States cannot, therefore, fail to view with deep concern any serious threat to stability and constitutional Government in Nicaragua tending toward anarchy and jeopardizing American interests, especially if such state of affairs is contributed to or brought about by outside influence or by any foreign power."

Despite its sensational trend, the message produced but little excitement at the Capitol. There were brief allusions to it in both the Senate and the House, but nothing in the nature of an attack, and there was a general disposition among Senators, including the Administration's severest critics, to abstain from comment.

Among the important events preceding the message may be cited the announcement on Jan. 5 that the embargo imposed on shipments of arms from the United

States to Nicaragua had been lifted for the benefit of the Díaz Government, and the sending on Jan. 6 of six more American war vessels and 600 marines "to protect American interests." On Jan. 4 the White House spokesman had pointed to the agreement by Nicaragua in 1916 to grant the United States the right to build an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaraguan territory and establish a naval station on Fonseca Bay as the chief factor determining the Administration's policy (this was again referred to by the President in his message). On Jan. 7 Senator Borah, after an interview with the President, had issued a statement declaring that the United States had no business to land troops in Nicaragua and had violated a treaty in recognizing the Díaz régime. On Jan. 10, the day when the President's message was sent to Congress, dispatches were received from Admiral Latimer stating that marines had been landed at three more points and that three new neutral zones had been established for the protection of American nationals in Nicaragua.

Guatemala

LAZARO CHACON, a Liberal, was elected President of Guatemala in a special election held Dec. 3-5. He defeated General Jorge Ubico, a Progressive, by a large majority. The special election was made necessary as the result of the death of President Orellana in September, 1926.

C. W. H.

South America

SECRETARY KELLOGG'S proposal, made public on Nov. 30, 1926, for the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy elicited much comment in the South American press during the past month, but little progress has been recorded since Dec. 3. On that date Secretary Kellogg acknowledged the receipt of a memorandum from the Peruvian Ambassador in Washington, dated Dec. 3, 1926, reading as follows:

The Government of Peru, in order to be in a better position to make a decision, and as the necessary clarification of the memorandum presented by his Excellency the Secretary of

State, Nov. 30, last, desires to know if, in the opinion of his Excellency, the proposed transfer of the inhabitants of Tacna-Arica is to be made without consulting their own wishes and, if in case this consultation is made, what forms will be employed in its execution and what authorities would discharge this duty.

In reply to this memorandum the Department of State pointed out that appropriate guarantees for the protection and preservation of the personal and property rights of the inhabitants of the provinces were provided in the following provision in paragraph (a):

The cession to be made subject to appropriate

guarantees for the protection and preservation, without discrimination, of the personal and property rights of all the inhabitants of the provinces of whatever nationality.

An intimation that Peru would refuse to accept Secretary Kellogg's proposal was seen in a New Year's message from President Leguia, published prominently by *La Nacion* in Buenos Aires. The Peruvian President's message said:

I hope that this year of 1927 will bring the so-much-desired solution, although it appears yet very far away. I say this because the ideal formula destined to settle this serious matter, maintaining peace in America, is not that formula of convenience which proposes to substitute for money the claims of right, but another one which should be more in conformity with the spirit of our times and mentality of our race, which subordinates the petty commercial ambitions to the superior ideals of justice and honor

Argentina

THE Argentine Congress convened in extra session on Dec. 1, 1926, primarily to approve the budget for 1927. As approved by the Finance Committees of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, it calls for an expenditure of 690,000,000 paper pesos cash and 200,000,000 paper pesos in bonds (a peso equals \$0.41 at present exchange rates). Other legislation before the two houses was of a routine nature.

Wheat from the 1926-27 harvest began to arrive in Buenos Aires with the new year. The first official estimate for the crop, issued on Dec. 15, placed the harvest at 5,860,000 metric tons. Similarly favorable estimates for other crops tended to produce lower prices in the Argentine grain market, which had been virtually inactive for weeks. Argentina will have from the present wheat harvest some 4,000,000 tons for export. Nearly all the linseed production is sold abroad.

A report from the American Commercial Attaché in Buenos Aires contains the following:

The most unfavorable factors in Argentina's present economic situation are the low price levels prevailing for cattle, and the expectation that still lower ones will be reached as a result of excessive offerings and slackening demand in European meat-consuming markets. This disturbed condition is arousing much agitation in

favor of Government assistance for cattle breeders and fatteners against the restrictions on imports of frozen and chilled beef into certain foreign countries, and it is understood that a campaign for a general readjustment of commercial relations with the leading countries participating in Argentine trade is favored. Should the movement gain popularity, its result would probably be an attempted boycott of imports originating in the country in which restrictions against Argentine exports were most keenly felt.

Peter Augustus Jay, the United States Ambassador to the Argentine Republic, submitted his resignation to President Coolidge on Dec. 23. Mr. Jay's 19-year-old daughter died in the Argentine capital three days before. No action was taken on the resignation, as Secretary Kellogg sought to dissuade Mr. Jay from his original intention. Mr. Jay has been in Argentina less than a year, having been transferred from Rumania.

Brazil

PRESIDENT LUIZ, who was inaugurated on Nov. 15, began the active work of his Administration in the field of finance. Following the policy of his predecessor, Dr. Bernardes, he moved at once for the stabilization of the milreis, in accordance with the promise in his inaugural address. Since the Armistice, exchange has been very unstable in Brazil, and with the exception of a great rise at the end of 1919 and at the beginning of 1920, the trend has been steadily downward. During December, 1926, the Finance Committee of the National Chamber of Deputies prepared a project for placing the paper milreis on a convertible gold basis. The bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Luiz in the closing days of 1926. The law provides for a new monetary unit, to be known as the *cruzeiro*, of 200 milligrams of gold, nine-tenths fine, worth \$0.125, and divided on a decimal basis. The paper money now in circulation, amounting to approximately \$1,365,000,000, will be stabilized on this basis and the rate maintained by Government purchase and sale of exchange. The Federal Government has been authorized to negotiate a loan for the execution of the project; as much as \$100,000,000 may be needed for this purpose.

The revolutionary movement in Southern Brazil, which broke out during the first

days of the new Administration, continued through December. More than 400 revolutionists crossed the border into Uruguay on Jan. 2 and were disarmed by Uruguayan authorities. In the State of Rio Grande do Sul, where the defection centred, Government troops had been steadily repulsing the rebel forces.

Chile

THE mixed Congressional Committee reported on Dec. 17 a project to balance the 1927 budget by a reduction of 32,000,000 pesos in expenditures and an increase in revenues. Larger receipts are expected from improvement in the methods of collection, from taxes in arrears which are to be collected by private agencies, and from an increase in taxes, especially in customs duties.

President Figueroa sent to Congress the budget for 1927 for examination and approval. The estimated income totals 890,000,000 pesos (a peso is worth approximately 12 cents) with expenditures amounting to over 1,000,000,000 pesos. In accordance with the executive decree of Nov. 13, 1925, as well as with the new Constitution of Chile, Congress no longer has the privilege of passing on other expenditures than those submitted by the President, although it is still empowered to make reductions in those amounts. The principal expenditures are for the Department of the Treasury with more than one-third of the total, and the Departments of the Interior, Public Education and Public Works. Special provision has been made in this budget for expenditures amounting to 122,460,000 pesos for public works.

Expecting that the proceeds from foreign loans will cover the major part of the shortage, the Executive asks Congress to provide for the remaining deficit of 16,128,660 pesos. It is suggested that the number of Government employes be still further reduced. Nothing can be done for the present, according to the President, with the enormously swollen item of pensions in the civil and military branches, as these obligations are still subject to decrees passed by the emergency Government of 1924-25. Reduction in these pensions is the subject of study now in the Controller's office (*Tribunal de Cuentas*), but

no early relief is expected from this source. Congress is advised to look for relief by increasing taxation or raising tariff duties.

More disturbing than finances in Chile is the growing number of unemployed in the nitrate industry. The demand for nitrate has been slack and many plants have closed down entirely and discharged their workmen. Large stocks of fertilizer were on hand in Europe at the close of the war and the manufacture of nitrogen by chemical process has been perfected to a point which makes Chile no longer the only source of supply. Reduction in the Chilean export of nitrate has decreased customs receipts, increased taxation to make up the deficit in national revenues, and compelled the expenditure of considerable sums in doles and public works to aid the unemployed. The export of nitrate from Chile during the third quarter of 1926 was only 159,166 metric tons, as compared with 328,827 tons for the corresponding period of 1925. At the end of the third quarter only eighteen out of sixty-four nitrate plants were operating in the Antofogasta region, as compared to twenty-six in operation at the end of the second quarter of 1926. The stagnant industry and the resultant unemployment give little hope of any improvement in the near future. Throughout his Administration President Figueroa has been increasingly handicapped by these economic conditions.

Peru

THE Peruvian Congress was called in extra session on Dec. 6 chiefly to consider the budget for 1927. To provide increased revenues for proposed expenditures a new tariff law was signed by President Leguia on Nov. 19, and became effective on Jan. 1, 1927. This emergency law increases duties in all the twenty-one schedules except in that covering live animals. The former basic duties are doubled in some schedules, increased by one-half in a number of cases, and in others by from 10 to 50 per cent. The surtaxes of the former law are to remain. These surtaxes amount to additional charges of 19 per cent. at Callao and to 18 per cent. at other ports. The new law is to be in effect until Nov. 6, 1927.

H. T. C.

The British Empire

Great Britain

THE strife within the Liberal Party between Viscount Grey of Falloden, said to be backed by Lord Oxford and Asquith, and ex-Premier Lloyd George had several significant developments. On Dec. 13 Viscount Grey asserted in a speech that in view of recent events it was now impossible to accept Mr. Lloyd George's offer to bury the hatchet and unite on a basis of mutual trust. However, on Dec. 15, the Administrative Committee of the National Liberal Federation adopted the report of a special committee advising the acceptance of Mr. Lloyd George's offer to the party of the income from his "secret" campaign fund of £1,000,000. This was taken in many quarters to indicate that the ex-Premier has at last secured control of the Liberal Party machine.

Parliament ended its session on Dec. 16 with no action taken on three important measures—amendment of the trade union laws, reform of the House of Lords, and lowering of the voting age for women. Many observers saw indications in the session of a marked loosening of the Conservative grip on the country.

The British Labor Party, on Dec. 30, completed a political agreement with the Cooperative Party that will bind the two together more closely and will probably modify the Labor Party policy.

The industries and trade of the country showed slow but appreciable recovery through the month from the effects of the coal strike. This improvement was, however, offset by the fact that a budget deficit of £140,000,000 (\$700,000,000) was reported at the end of the third quarter of the fiscal year, making further increases in the already high taxes practically inevitable. A serious shortage of coal in London during the Christmas season increased the prevailing pessimism. The beginning of a new year was, however, hailed in general as a reason for hope, for it was felt that industrial conditions in 1927 could hardly be worse than they were in 1926.

Ireland

ALL persons detained by the Irish Free State in connection with the recent raids on the barracks of the civil guards were released on Dec. 14 by order of the Executive Council.

South Africa

PRIME MINISTER HERTZOG, on his arrival from the Imperial Conference on Dec. 13, made a speech which created a profound stir because of its apparent right-about-face in policy. He declared that as a result of the conference he no longer feared the Empire and believed that Eng-



THE BRITISH COAL STRIKE

Slowly but surely the English unicorn is driving the Soviet bear back to his cave
—Kikariki, Vienna



ON AND OFF THE WATER WAGON
—Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune

lish-speaking South Africans could be full citizens of South Africa while retaining their love for and loyalty to Great Britain. He also stated that the question of South Africa's separation from the Empire should be left for the future to determine. These statements seemed to many to be direct contradictions of his former opinions.

New Zealand

PRIME Minister J. G. Coates, with a party of New Zealand Government officials, arrived in New York on Jan. 11 on the way back to New Zealand after attending the Imperial Conference in London.

Australia

PRIME Minister Stanley M. Bruce arrived in New York on Dec. 28, the purpose of his visit being to confer with the President and other officials on Commonwealth affairs. He stated regarding the appointment of an Australian Minister to the United States that the Government had no present intention of making the appointment, though it had the power. In a speech on Dec. 30 he stressed the need

of unity among English-speaking peoples, particularly at this time.

The Northern Territory of Australia, a tract of land comprising nearly 500,000 square miles and practically uninhabited on account of the difficulties of settling it, will now be developed as the result of the recent act of Parliament which divides it into two parts and appoints a development commission and local Government officials.

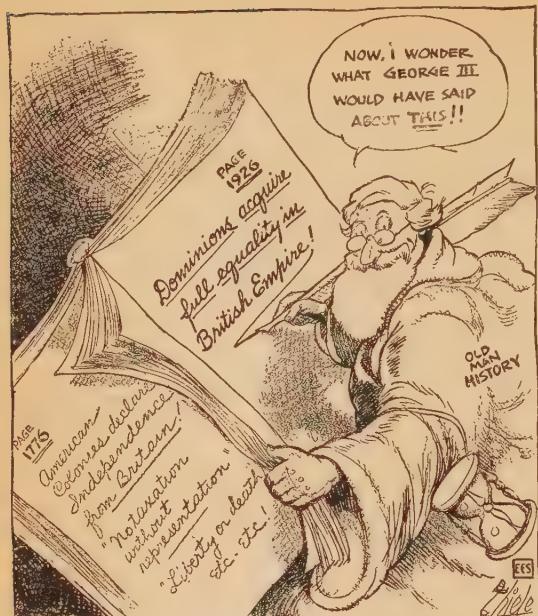
The Duke and Duchess of York sailed for Australia on Jan. 6 to open the Parliament Buildings in the new Federal capital of Canberra. Since the inauguration of the Commonwealth on Jan. 1, 1901, the temporary seat of the Government has been in Melbourne, the capital of the State of Victoria. The choice of Canberra as the national capital was the result of rivalry between the States of Victoria and New South Wales. Canberra is situated in Federal territory which was once part of New South Wales, and which was ceded to the Commonwealth for the Federal capital. The war was partly responsible for the slow progress in the creation of a new city at Canberra.

Canada

THE legislative program announced at the opening of the sixteenth Parliament on Dec. 10 included the adoption of measures to assist works producing coke from Canadian coal, legislation on the question of maritime rights, amendment of the rules of the House of Commons and measures promoting railway construction.

Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, stated in a speech on Dec. 10 that Canada's maturity had been at last recognized by the recent Imperial Conference.

The report of the Imperial Conference was, however, subjected to severe criticism from the Conservative Opposition of the Canadian Parliament in a debate on Dec. 13. Among other things, they asserted that it constitutes a grave attack on the Canadian Constitution.



THEN AND NOW
—Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune

Additions to Canadian newsprint plants will bring daily output capacity to 8,500 tons in 1927, against 7,350 tons now and 4,750 tons at the beginning of 1925. The total for the year is estimated at 2,000,000 tons. Of the 8,500 tons daily output, 1,300 tons, or about 15 per cent., will be accounted for by plants of the Canadian International Paper Company, a subsidiary of the International Paper Company, at Three Rivers and Gatineau, Quebec. Both the United States and Great Britain depend very largely upon Canada for supplies of paper for the printing of newspapers.

India

SWAMI SHRADANAND, a noted Hindu leader, was assassinated on Dec. 23 by a Moslem.

The trend of the Indian National Congress, which concluded its sessions on Dec. 29, appeared to be "Back to Gandhism." It revived the boycott on foreign cloth and other principles of non-cooperation with the British Government.

A London newspaper on Jan. 10 announced that two more Indian rulers would retire under the demand of inhabitants of their States for a more enlightened government. It is announced that the Maharajah of Cochin intends to abdicate on the grounds of ill health and old age, and it is reported that the Gaekwar of Baroda, who recently celebrated the jubilee of his reign, intends to retire from any active part in the Government of his State. Improvements to be effected in the native States are due, at least in part, to exposures of maladministration and the anxiety of rulers to leave no loophole for interference by the British Government. Some of the changes are due to realization that the States no longer are able to resist legitimate demands of their subjects, but it is significant that they also coincide with the general review of the administration of States by the British Government and the appointment of Colonel Chenevix-Trench, a noted British political officer, to be a member of the Nizam's Executive Government, following the British Government's demands for reforms in Hyderabad.

R. H.

France and Belgium

IT was announced on Dec. 22 that a Government decree had authorized a Dutch loan to the French State railroads of 25,000,000 florins.

According to the census report announced Dec. 27 the population of France totals 40,743,851. Of these 2,498,230 are foreign. Total inhabitants of the Seine Department numbered 4,628,637, and

of the metropolitan district of Paris 5,766,161. One-tenth of the population of Paris is foreign.

The report of Senator Charles Dumont on the Riff war indicated that the total cost of that enterprise would be 1,124,000,000 francs.

According to *La Liberté*, a journal which has been conducting a campaign

against Alexandre Varenne, Governor of French Indo-China, the autonomist movement in Indo-China has assumed alarming proportions. The native press was said to be demanding, in increasingly violent terms, independence from French control.

The Garibaldi affair was the occasion during the month of the concentration of a considerable part of French naval forces at Toulon, and the sending of French forces to the frontier near Nice. These measures, the French Government announced, were merely precautionary and in no sense aggressive, and the Italian Government stated that it was officially ignorant of any French military concentrations on the frontier.

On Dec. 16, upon his return from Geneva, Minister Briand energetically denied the reports that there existed between himself and Premier Poincaré a difference in respect to foreign policy.

It was announced on Dec. 14 that Premier Poincaré would take up the foreign debt question after the holidays, with the object of obtaining ratifications of the London and Washington agreements. Such ratifications, however, would be conditioned upon a reservation to the effect that France should not consider herself bound to pay to her creditors more than she received from Germany in reparations.

A new law was passed during the month raising the price of the *carte d'identité* (identification card) which every foreigner residing in France more than two



THE GOOD NEIGHBORS—FRANCE AND ITALY

—Izvestia, Moscow

weeks must possess. Formerly the price was 62 francs for a card good for two years. The new law raised the price to 375 francs for a card good for one year. The measure was expected to bring in a revenue of about \$6,000,000. C. B.

Germany and Austria

ACCORDING to all reports Germany's 1926 Christmas was the happiest since 1913. Spending for holiday gifts was declared the most lavish in the history of either the Empire or the Reich, and was regarded as an omen of Germany's prosperity, which is confirmed by a survey of the industrial outlook today.

The attempt of the Krupps to obtain a credit of 20,000,000 marks from the German Government was not realized because of the resignation of the Marx Cabinet. It was expected that negotiations would be resumed as soon as the new Ministry took office.

The returns of unemployed persons in receipt of relief during the second fortnight of November were recently published. They showed an increase of 53,000, or 4 per cent. Between Nov. 15 and Dec. 1 the total number increased from 1,316,000 to 1,369,000, and the number of dependents in receipt of allowances from 1,391,000 to 1,461,000. The increase was largely due to seasonal influences. Many thousands of workmen in the shoe industry were unemployed as the result of a lockout.

Germany's population is increasing through a lower death rate despite fewer

births. The Prussian Statistical Bureau shows that the German birth rate fifty years ago was 52.6 per 1,000, as against 21.3 today. The death rate has dropped from 26 to 12.6 per 1,000. Despite enormous loss of life in the World War, the bureau states that Germany has more workers now than in 1914.

The Reich Administration's budget for 1927 as submitted to the Reichsrat totaled 8,500,000,000 marks, as against 8,600,000,-000 for 1926, while an additional 2,000,-000 marks for reparations payments brought the total to 10,500,000,000. The ordinary expenditure of 7,900,000,000 is entirely balanced by revenue. The extraordinary expenditure of 509,500,000 marks, however, creates a deficit which must be covered by a loan. Reparations expenditure during the year was 17,787,-000,000 marks, or 468,500,000 more than in 1925.

The unfortunate Germersheim affair of September, 1926, in which Lieutenant Rouzier, a French reserve officer, and six or eight Germans became embroiled in a street brawl resulting in the death of one German and the wounding of two others, was finally adjusted. Rouzier was court-martialed and acquitted, but six of the Germans were sentenced to prison. The action of the army court so aroused all Germany that the matter found its way into diplomatic channels. On Dec. 24 it was announced that President Doumergue of France had pardoned the convicted men. In France it was generally admitted that the military court was biased and tactless in handling the case.

It was recently announced that Germany would undertake construction schemes in France, using German materials and German labor and crediting the project against the reparations debt. Three reservoir dams

will be constructed across the Berndon Valley in Southeastern France to protect cultivated lands from Spring freshets and store the waters, which will be used to furnish power to four departments along the French eastern frontier. One thousand men will be employed to build the dams and install the power plants, and the project will require more than two years.

Just before its downfall the Marx Cabinet carried through the Reichstag its Labor Court law which creates a special court of jurisdiction for all disputes, individual or collective. One employer and one employee will sit as assessors with the Labor Court Judges, who may be non-professional.

Efforts of the parties of the Right, supported by the Communists, to turn out the Diet of the State of Hesse and force a new election by means of a referendum were defeated on Dec. 5, when 219,453 citizens voted against the proposition for dissolution and 202,697 voted for it. The present Socialist-Democratic-Centrist Government will stay at its post, sup-



THE REPUBLICAN'S TEMPTATION
The revival of orders and decorations is being proposed
in Germany

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

ported by 46 of the 70 members of the Diet, until next December at least.

Austria

EX-MINISTER of Finance Jakob Ahrer declined the Government's request to return from Cuba to face the Austrian Parliamentary Commission investigating \$61,000,000 losses in the Postal Savings Bank while he was in office. Herr Ahrer, in a message from Havana to Chancellor Seipel, declared that the charges against him were groundless, that he was trying to establish himself in Cuba to earn a modest living and could not afford a trip to Austria taking twenty days. He stated that he was re-

sponsible for all acts for himself and his subordinates while in office, and that he was willing to give concrete answers under oath to all questions through the Consulate in Havana. He pointed out that he served his country loyally for six years in a responsible civil office and left Austria merely for private family reasons.

The result of the Austrian State finances during the first three quarters of 1926 has been reported in detail. It showed a surplus of 110,000,000 schillings, of which 103,000,000 were used for public works. The unexpended balance of the League of Nations' credit, recently released at Geneva for Austrian public works, will remain untouched during 1927.

H. J. C.

Italy

THE friction between France and Italy over illegal plots led to the sending of additional border troops by both countries, but in spite of the utterances of the jingo press, more responsible authorities declared that reports of warlike preparations had been greatly exaggerated, and that neither Government had the slightest idea of going to war. In fact Mussolini has asserted that the development of Italy's needs demands special cooperation with England and France.

But while disclaiming any desire for political conquests, Mussolini is frankly seeking opportunities for Italy's expansion. In a recent interview he declared: "We will work for peace with might and main; we will exhaust every peaceful policy to put Italy in her rightful place among the nations, but if all our peaceful policies fail, the day will come when Italy, too, will demand her

place in the sun." In another interview he said:

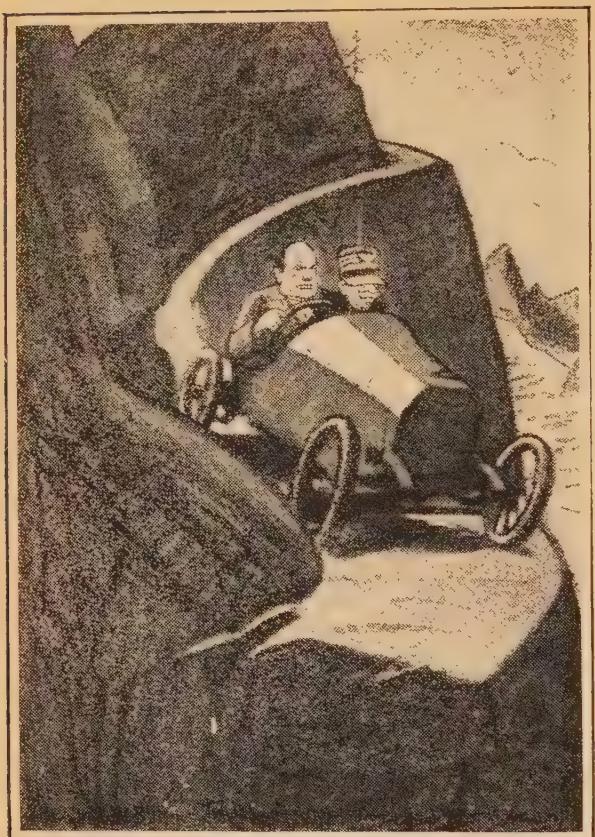
"I am entirely in favor of the restoration of balance and equilibrium of forces in a formula most adapted for maintain-



HERCULES AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

"The attempted assassination is due at 12:50 prompt. What shall I wear for it?"

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*



THE PRECIPICE

Mussolini to King Victor Emanuel: "Do not fear, your Majesty. We are moving forward more and more rapidly"

-Simplicissimus, Munich

ing peace. I believe that if we place two identical weights on the two sides of an ideal weighing balance, equilibrium, in theory, should be maintained indefinitely. But if we place in them a living organism in perpetual growth, the index of the scales will be changed with a velocity equal to that of the difference between the development of the two organisms. The organism which is developing itself with the greater rapidity will soon surpass the weight of the other and will cause the scales to tip in its favor. Equilibrium between peoples, which are the most living of all organisms, must therefore be continually re-established.

"In what I have said you will find the answer to the questions so often asked of

our colonial aspirations and desires. One must not describe Italy as though she were lying in hiding behind a hedge ready to jump at the throat of the first passing nation, to tear a colony from her hands. This Italian attitude, created in bad faith by the fantasy of certain of our adversaries, is absolutely non-existent.

"Therefore, although our policy is not 'pacifist' in the Utopian sense of the word, it is essentially 'pacific.' Moreover, I have demonstrated this by the numerous pacts I have concluded at every time and in every place possible, and I shall continue firmly along this road."

These pacts include an arbitration treaty with Germany, providing for a permanent conciliation committee, and a treaty with Albania. The latter is arousing virulent criticism in the Balkans and is denounced as contrary to the spirit of the Yugoslav compact of 1924 and as establishing a virtual Italian protectorate over Albania. A treaty with Yemen (Arabia), was also signed. This is regarded as a potential increase of Italy's influence in the Red Sea region, where she already possesses Eritrea.

In response to a national appeal the Government suspended the compulsory "war bread" regulations until after the holidays.

On Dec. 21 Mussolini pardoned ten of the 942 opponents of his régime who had been condemned to confinement on certain islands in the Mediterranean and Adriatic. In a number of other instances he reduced lengthy confinement, commuted sentences to warnings, and granted special living allowances to those convicted.

The Republic of San Marino, the tiny enclave within Italy which claims to be the oldest State in Europe, has elected a purely Fascist Government. Ninety per cent. of the heads of families in the republic voted in favor of Fascism and secured all the sixty seats in the Council.

A Fascist calendar, dating from Oct. 28,

1922, the date of the beginning of the Black Shirts' march on Rome, has been officially established by decree. In future all official documents will bear two dates—the ordinary date of the modern calendar and the Fascist date. Thus, until Oct. 28, 1927, all official papers will be stamped "Year V."

A recent address by Finance Minister Count Volpi reported favorable conditions in Italy's finances—a balanced budget, an increase in revenue, a decrease in expenditure and a reduction of the public debt.

In a New Year's speech before the Fas-

cist Party directorate, the Premier declared that the new year would be particularly interesting. "Nineteen twenty-six saw the creation of the corporative State," he said. "In the course of 1927 it will begin to function. We will proceed in full view and always giving to the world the proof of a great national organization raised on bases different from all others." This was followed by a circular letter on Jan. 5 to the Prefects of the Provinces announcing that Fascism will henceforth mean the Italian State instead of the Black Shirt Party.

E. E.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

THE results of the Parliamentary elections suddenly called by Premier Bethlen at the middle of November resulted about as was expected. The Government won an overwhelming majority in the rural districts, in which voting is open and public—a total, indeed, of 192 out of 199 seats—while in the urban constituencies, in which voting is by secret ballot, it won 21 out of a total of 45. The voting began on Dec. 8 and continued over a period of ten days. The 245 seats in the Chamber fell to the various parties in the following proportions: Party of National Unity, 169; Christian Social Union, 35; Party of Racial Defense, 3; Agrarians, 3; Legitimists, 2; Liberals, 11; Social Democrats, 14, and Independents, 8. It had been expected that the opposition groups, taken together, would win only about 40 seats; their total turned out to be 32. Losses of seats held in the old Chamber were heaviest by the Liberals and the Social Democrats.

Count Albert Apponyi was the only non-governmental candidate to be returned unopposed. Among the outstanding opposition aspirants defeated was the extreme Legitimist, Margrave Pallavicini. The Fascists cut a considerable figure in the campaign, but seemed to have an understanding with the Government. The Opposition charged corruption, intimidation and violence on the part of the Administration both before and during the election.

A Hungarian publicist comments as follows:

The world assumes that Bethlen, by securing so overwhelming a majority, accomplished a double feat: he eliminated Admiral Horthy, Regent Governor of Hungary, a survival from the times of the "White Terror," and terminated the Parliamentary rôle of the opposition parties, Social Democrats and Democrats. The Western world, however, does not realize that the significance of the election transcends these two constitutional factors. It does not realize that for the last two years, approximately, Admiral Horthy has been merely a supernumerary, head of the State only in name. Neither does the world realize that the Opposition in the late Parliament played a piteous rôle, and that its only function was to bring up such gravamina as could not be aired in the newspapers, owing to the arbitrary handling of the press laws.

What was really significant about the recent election in Hungary was that Count Bethlen eliminated from Parliamentary representation that social class which was the dominant factor since the end of the war—namely, the peasants. When Count Bethlen became Premier six years ago, Parliament had a peasant majority. His program was founded on the exigencies of the farm situation and he ruled in the name of the peasants and, allegedly, for the peasants. Under his leadership new Hungary was to become a peasant democracy.

It was the peasants and their aspirations that were beaten at the recent election. The Party of National Unity, whose nucleus and most powerful support was the Agrarian group, no longer represents the peasants. It is the setting for a disguised dictatorship of the aristocrats and of the land magnates. Count Bethlen has adopted the

methods of the man whom he most admired, Count Stephen Tisza, former dictator of Hungary. The election, which was manipulated by the Government according to the formula of Count Tisza, clearly demonstrates that Hungary has once more reverted to the semi-feudal state from which it had seemed to emerge after the war.

The composition of the new House of Magnates, which includes, among others, members of the house of Habsburg resident in Hungary, representatives of the aristocracy and of the county councils, the strongholds of feudalism, indicates who Hungary's real rulers are. It reflects the supremacy of the aristocrats in the Administration of Hungary and the defeat of the peasants as the upholders of democracy and constitutionalism.

The pengö, Hungary's new gold standard currency unit, was put into circulation during the last week of December. It was established on a basis of 12,500 paper crowns equivalent to one pengö, making it worth 17½ cents. The pengö is divided into 100 "fillers," both pengö and filler being the names of ancient Magyar coins. The currency issued in accordance with this new system gives Hungary her first metallic coins in ten years.

Poland

THE progress of events looking to withdrawal by the Allies of the Military Control Committee from Germany produced deep dissatisfaction among practically all elements in Poland and led to a bitter press campaign which Foreign Minister Zaleski found it necessary to explain and minimize in an interview on Dec. 15. The complaint was that Poland, having more at stake than any of the other nations, had been ignored in the matter; and it was freely predicted that the country's attitude toward the League would henceforth be decidedly cool. The conviction that the Allies' coming withdrawal of control over Germany's war machinery spells disaster for Poland partially healed the breach between the Government and the Diet, the lower house voting the budget (Dec. 14) with large army appropriations, without dissent. The transfer of Stanislaus Patek, who is very friendly toward Russia, from the post of Minister to Japan to that of Minister to Russia, was interpreted as a retaliatory movement.

The situation was given a new turn on

Jan. 4 by Foreign Minister Zaleski's declaration of what the press termed "a new peace policy," in which he denied Poland's intention of interfering in Lithuania, reaffirmed her readiness to conclude an official political treaty with Russia giving guarantees as regards frontiers, and asserted that "Poland is determined to abstain from all activities against the peace of Europe." He also stated that to Poland's mind all the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty regarding German disarmament must be complied with. On the same day, Marshal Pilsudski caused surprise by appearing before the Sejm and formally relinquishing his claims to a third of all Government appropriations for army purposes.

Representatives of all Polish journals dropped their differences for the moment on Dec. 28 to hold a meeting for joint protest against a new press decree even more severe than the one which was killed in the Diet some two weeks earlier. It was understood that the new plan would enable the Government to cause any newspaper offending it to be not merely suspended (as under the earlier order) but permanently suppressed. Marshal Pilsudski was accused of being the author of the bill, but this was officially denied in a statement which said that the measure was the combined product of various offices of the Government which had been attacked by different sections of the press. The Government, however, announced on Dec. 31 its official recognition of the Sejm's defeat of the old bill limiting freedom of press and speech, and its intention to consult a committee of publishers before officially promulgating a new decree.

Bulgaria

THE settlement of 120,000 Bulgarian refugees by the League of Nations has been interpreted as an event of good omen in the Balkan zone. A loan of £2,250,000 for this purpose was floated in December under the auspices of the League of Nations, and René Charron, formerly assistant to Jeremiah Smith Jr., American High Commissioner of Hungary, was appointed the League's controller.

This settlement work will affect not only

Bulgaria but the entire Balkans. Bulgarian refugees from the neighboring countries have caused more than one international complication. It is mostly due to them that Macedonia is a festering sore in the centre of the peninsula and that the question of Dobrudja still troubles Bulgarian-Rumanian relations.

The flood of émigrés began to flow into Bulgaria toward the end of the first Balkan war in 1912, when the Balkan Alliance—Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece—was fighting the Turks. A new wave of refugees came in 1913, when the Bulgars were facing their former allies, the Serbs and Greeks, and later the Rumanians. Subsequently the World War forced a large number of Bulgarians living abroad to seek refuge in their mother country. At the end of the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922, when a million and a half Greeks and hundreds of thousands of Turks were repatriated, thousands of Bulgarians were expelled from Greece and Turkey to give room to the native refugees.

One-third of the 120,000 Bulgarian refugees has already been settled. The others carry on a miserable existence, living mostly in mud hovels or, where the climate permits, in tents. It is among these refugees, who have nothing to lose, that the *komitadji* bands, those semi-patriotic outlaw

organizations, have been recruited. Those who were formerly residents of the Dobrudja were deprived of their property by the Rumanian Government on the pretext of deficient titles. The Bulgarian refugees from Turkish Thrace fared likewise, although in their case not even a pretext was given, and it is only with Greece that the Sofia Government has an agreement providing for the compensation of the refugees for the loss of their properties.

Two-thirds of the loan will be spent on providing the refugees with houses, agricultural implements, cattle, seed and temporary maintenance. One-third will be spent on draining, irrigation and communication.

The Bulgarian settlement work will afford relief by pacifying the most bitter and most vocal malcontents of the Balkans. Naturally, it will not solve the refugee problem in all its implications. Where nationalities are so intermingled as in the Balkans, nothing but the most radical measures can help. Serbian Macedonia will continue to yield its annual quota of refugees as long as the Macedonian question is not settled. The "spirit of Locarno" will hardly pervade the Balkans until this problem is solved to satisfaction. The settlement work of the League is, however, a beginning of much promise. F. A. O.

Russia

INASMUCH as they had attacked Stalin's Administration for abandoning the cause of "world revolution," it was natural for Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev to take their case to the conference of the Communist International at Moscow. Despite the protests of the Soviet press that they were breaking their pledge given on Oct. 16, the leaders of the Opposition appeared in person and stated their views to the Communist delegates from the nations of the world. After Stalin had delivered a long report on the internal conditions of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky in turn assailed the Administration. Kamenev, notwithstanding the fact that he had just been appointed Soviet Minister

to Italy, declared that the foreign policy of the Stalin group lacked the proper revolutionary spirit and that the Government was devoting too much attention to internal problems. Zinoviev and Trotsky insisted that the Communist system could not be firmly established in Russia so long as it was surrounded by capitalistic neighbors.

Rykov, Chief Commissar, addressed the International in behalf of Stalin and his associates and belligerently charged Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky not only with mistaken policies but even with deliberate intention to create a critical situation in Russian politics for their own profit. Rykov intimated that some members of the Administration were now sorry that they had been so tolerant with the leaders of

the Opposition and had not immediately dismissed them from all their administrative posts. Later dispatches from Moscow indicated, however, that the Administration had thought it wiser to have Kamenev go on with the Italian mission and to withhold further discipline of the critics, while the Soviet press continued to denounce the Opposition before the Russian public.

The officials about Stalin perhaps have hopes that more and more of the people will come to the opinion which one prominent Communist expressed to a foreign correspondent: "We are weary of discussions. It is a man-sized job to run this country, without arguing about it. Some of these Oppositionists do not know the revolution is ten years old. * * * We are engaged in peaceful economic reconstruction, naturally on Socialistic lines, which is obviously required to supply the machines, and so forth, from the Western

world, with which we are anxious to collaborate on business terms."

Recent census reports show that the population of the Soviet Union is in the neighborhood of 160,000,000. Moscow's population, said to have fallen to 800,000 in 1919, is now about 2,000,000; Leningrad is reported as having 1,611,000, whereas in 1919 it had less than 400,000; Kharkov, Odessa and Kiev have about 485,000 each, an increase said to be over 70 per cent.

Soviet authorities reported that, as of Dec. 15, State grain collections had reached 7,000,000 tons, about 2,000,000 tons more than the amount collected during the corresponding period in the previous year.

Announcement was made on Dec. 22 that the Central Executive Committee had granted amnesty to the soldiers who fought in the White armies of Miller, Wrangel, Petlura, Yudenitch, Kolchak, Denikin and Semenov. The amnesty did not include soldiers living abroad nor any of the White officers.

A. B. D.

Nations of Northern Europe

AFTER the resignation of the Kallio Ministry, Mr. Tanner formed a Ministry from within the Social Democratic Party. This is the largest group in the Finnish Parliament, having 60 to 200 members in the Chamber, but its Ministry will have to depend upon some support from other parties to control the Government. Although neither the Progressive nor the Agrarian Party would enter a coalition under Mr. Tanner's leadership, he had reason to expect their support for a large part of his program, which includes a reduction of compulsory military service to nine months, an eight-hour day for workers, more generous provision for accident and health insurance, increased income and property taxes, greater exemption from taxes for the poorer classes, the enforcement of prohibition, and concessions to the Swedish minority in the population of Finland. The new Ministry was organized as follows:

Mr. TANNER—Prime Minister.
 Professor VOIONMAA—Foreign Affairs.
 Mr. HEINONEN—Defense.
 Dr. RYOMA—Finance.
 Mr. HUPLI—Commerce.
 Miss SILLANPAA—Social Welfare.

Lithuania

NO sooner had the new Government under Smetona and Valdemaras gained power than it ordered the arrest and court-martial of 150 Jews, the expulsion of all Germans from official positions in Memel (Klaipeda) after Jan. 1, and the dissolution of Socialist and peasant political groups on the same date. President Smetona on Dec. 27 refused to interfere with the sentence of four Communists; they were shot for attempting to organize the Communist uprising which gave Smetona and his associates their excuse for their own coup d'état.

A. B. D.

Other Nations of Europe

Spain

THE year 1926 closed with evidences of political unrest under the dictatorship in Spain, but there were no signs of serious change of plan on the part of the Government, nor of determination on the part of the people to take things into their own hands. Interviews and statements from General Primo de Rivera point to the great things accomplished under the present régime and insist that 99 per cent. of the people are with him. It is indeed evident that he has a great body of admirers, among whom may be counted many native Spaniards who live across the ocean. At a banquet of some two hundred of them in December they requested the King to confer upon the Premier the title of Prince of the Riff. He modestly laid this aside and asked these friends to postpone the matter till he politically disappeared or died. On a later occasion he declared: "I have no ambitions. All I ask is a place in history without pomp and splendor. Let people say, bowing before my tomb, 'That man saved Spain,' and let all good patriots bless my name in pronouncing it—that's all."

At the same time, in spite of the enumeration of the successes of the dictatorship it is clear that discussion is gaining greater freedom and that public opinion is in a critical mood. The journal *A. B. C.* has been for the most part a supporter of the Government, and, in fact, published on Jan. 1 a long article enumerating the achievements and defending the policies of the Administration. In the same issue, however, there followed an editorial which demanded that the Government seriously reconsider its proposal to continue in office. It says:

It is time to drop its attitude that all is peace and harmony in the country and find out what is the real opinion of the people. If the Government continues to close its eyes to the spirit of the people, who are unable to vote or discuss or manifest their real feelings, what recourse will it leave the people? We have already had three years of dictatorship and now the Government talks of three more, or three times three. That is a long time.

Reminding the authorities that the press has been deprived of its function of accurately presenting news because the Government has been making history both as actor and narrator, the editorial continues:

Politically speaking, there is no Spain because there is no means of its existence without suffrage, liberty of meeting, expression of opinion and representative institutions. But there is an admirable peace and a dictatorship is no longer necessary. The Government itself recognizes and talks about the perfect order throughout the country and reasons why it should continue in office exist only in its own mind.

On the other hand, General Primo de Rivera, in an interview in the *Debato*, says:

Time and the people will determine whether there will be any changes in the Constitution or the formation of a new political régime. I am optimistic for the future of Spain. It will have its difficulties, but it will conquer them all and great progress will be made, the fruits of which will be harvested in 1929 and 1930 by the representatives of the present régime.

The Spanish Government is busily attacking the problem of how to balance the budget and meet more than a billion pesetas of public bonds which mature in February.

Portugal

THE Portuguese Government has made a decided change in its policy in regard to Roman Catholic missions in Portuguese colonies. After the separation of Church and State the missions suffered from the loss of subsidies and the confiscation of mission property. Meanwhile missionary enterprises from foreign countries pursued their religious and educational activities, backed by powerful societies with resources amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. The Government calls attention to the fact that these foreign societies are propagating ideas unrelated to Portuguese nationalism and are spreading in Europe and North America reports unfavorable to Portuguese national interests.

These colonies, of which Angola and Mozambique are the most important, have a total area about twenty-three times the size of Portugal. Consequently the new purpose of the Government to support the Roman Catholic missions with subsidies

and privileges is a matter of interest both in public finance and to all foreign societies carrying on missionary work in those regions.

Portugal has funded its war debt to Great Britain. On Dec. 31 it was announced from London that an agreement had been signed whereby payment is provided in sixty-two annuities, beginning with £125,000 for 1926 and gradually rising to £400,000 yearly for the years from 1939 to 1987, and a final payment of £200,000 in 1988. Portugal has the right to redeem the whole debt by a single payment of £5,500,000 before the end of 1927.

Holland

REBELLIOUS outbreaks in Sumatra, similar to those which took place in Java, and requiring the calling out of troops, started in the night of Jan. 2. They were attributed to natives described as "Communists" and took the form of armed attacks on Government offices and police barracks and the cutting of telegraph lines at several points. Siloengkang, the centre of the insurrection, is on the west coast of Sumatra. The casualties were not very numerous in the first outbreak, but they included a Dutch army officer, a native chief and the postmaster of Siloengkang.

Switzerland

DR. JOSEPH MOTTA, who was President of the Swiss Confederation in 1915 and again in 1920, has been elected to serve in that post again for the year 1927. He will succeed Henri Haberlin. Edmund Schulthess, who was President in 1917 and is now chief of the Department of Public Economy, was named Vice President. Both officers are elected by the Federal Assembly for the term of one year, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

M. Motta is a Canton Ticino lawyer and an able member of the Conservative Party. He has, since the beginning, been the leading delegate of Switzerland at the League of Nations Assembly, which he presided over in 1924. He was also Chairman of the special committee which examined the question of the composition of the League Council.

Another Alpine railway has recently

been completed. This is a line of 27 miles extending from Brigue in the Rhône Valley over the Furka Pass to Andermatt and thence down to Dissentis in the Valley of the Rhine. At Brigue this road taps two of the international lines across Switzerland at the point where they enter the Simplon Tunnel. At Dissentis connection is made with the railways to the Engadine and the eastern passes into Italy. The highest elevation reached is 6,987 feet at a point on the Furka Pass.

Sweden

A NEW naval program comprising the construction of four armored cruisers of the same type as the *Sverige* was reported by the special committee of experts appointed to examine for the Riksdag the requirements of the country in naval defense. Over a period of ten years the committee recommends the expenditure of 105,400,000 kronor, or about \$26,350,000. All the new vessels proposed would be of a distinctly defensive type, suitable for the waters of the Baltic. The cruisers would have a speed of 24 knots and a tonnage of 7,600, which would exempt them from the Washington provisions among the great naval powers. Furthermore, the committee suggests eight torpedo chasers, three large and six small submarines, several mine layers, and one aircraft carrier with a capacity of twelve machines.

This proposal will first have to be examined by the Cabinet with the advice of the naval authorities and then be subjected to the fire of parliamentary debate. Two years ago the parties of the Left united on a program to reduce the army expenditures, and it was then intimated that the radical leaders felt that the country was in greater need of naval and air defenses than of a large standing army.

Prince William of Sweden left after the Christmas holidays for a lecture tour in the United States. Since resigning his naval rank as captain after the war, he has made a career for himself as a private author and lecturer. There was no official cognizance taken of his trip.

At the age of eighty, L. M. Ericsson, father of the Swedish telephone industry, died at his country seat near Stockholm.

Turkey and the Near East

THE Turkish Government has shown signs of adopting a policy of reconciliation with remaining members of the political Opposition. As reported some months ago, the editor Hussein Jahid Bey was pardoned and permitted to return to Constantinople from his exile at Chorum. At the same time it was reported that the olive branch was being held out to Dr. Adnan Bey, now in exile in England. On the other hand the resignation of the latter as Deputy from Constantinople was accepted, along with that of General Rafet Pasha. In place of these two and of Ismail Jambolat Bey, executed at Smyrna in July, three supporters of the Government—Ali Haidar Bey, Fuad Bey and Zia ed-Din Bey—were chosen.

Anticipating the appearance before the United States Senate of the American-Turkish Treaty of Lausanne, Senator King of Utah, always its bitter opponent, made an attack upon it in the Senate on Dec. 22, and moved a resolution asking for an inquiry into the circumstances of the treaty's negotiation in 1923, with a view to determining what part, if any, was played by the Chester Concession, and whether the treaty's "principal proponent and advocate" is the Standard Oil Company. The attack contained nothing new, unless it be an unflattering description of the acts of President Mustapha Kemal, which were given a sinister interpretation.

The contract which the Turkish Government signed in December, 1926, with the Belgian Company, *La Société Industrielle de Travaux*, provided for the building of a port at Samsun and two sections of standard gauge railway, from Ulu Kishla to Kaisariveh and from Sivas to Turkhal; each will be about seventy-five miles long. A Swedish and Danish group was reported to have signed a contract for a railroad from Diarbekhr to Malatia and beyond, and another from Eregli to Angora.

The Government announced a plan for opening public schools for all the women of the country, including even those of the nomadic tribes. According to estimates, 98 per cent. of Turkish women are illiterate. The Province of Trebizond issued a regu-

lation ordering all women to abandon the veil.

A contract was signed in December for the repair at Ismid of the Sultan Selim Yawuz, formerly the German battle cruiser Goeben, by the *Société des Forges et Chantiers* of St. Nazaire.

Coal was produced in the Eregli or Heraclea region during 1926 to the amount of 950,000 tons. This figure surpassed by about 50,000 tons the maximum production before the war.

Egypt

THE Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 15 voted that the Government should again enter the market for the purchase of cotton. Three days later the announcement was made that the Government would buy all contracts for December and January delivery of certain grades of cotton, with the expectation of requiring the actual delivery of the cotton.

The Sudan Plantations Syndicate has planted for the coming season about 100,000 acres of cotton, 50,000 acres of durr-and 50,000 acres of lubia. This represents an increase from 80,000, 31,000 and 9,000. The company expected to increase the available area to 450,000 or 500,000 acres.

Syria

NEGOTIATIONS continued well into December between High Commissioner Ponsot and leaders of the Druses and Syrian Nationalists. M. Ponsot sailed at the end of the month for France.

The head of the Syrian State, Damad Ahmed Bey Namy, has found it necessary in a few months of office to work with three ministries. It was reported that three members of the Second Ministry were favored by the High Commissioner but opposed by Namy Bey, and that in the struggle the High Commissioner for the first time allowed Syrian wishes to prevail.

An item from Arabic sources in Jaffa claimed that Sultan Pasha el Atrash, leader of the Druses, had announced that his people would continue to fight against the French.

Emir Chekib Arslan, eminent Syrian Nationalist and special representative of Syrian interests in Paris, arrived in the United States on Jan. 5. The chief object of his visit was to attend a Syrian Nationalist Congress in Detroit. The Emir expressed hope that the negotiations which have been conducted during the past months by the Syrian representatives with France would lead to the granting by France of a Constitution favorable to Syrian Nationalist aspirations. He depicted a distressing situation in his homeland, where, he said, thousands of Syrian men, women and children were homeless, and facing cold and famine without adequate means to relieve their sufferings, the Syrian national fund for the victims of the bombardments and the Druse war being now practically exhausted.

Arabia

CROWN Prince Feisal returned to Jeddah on Nov. 7, and proceeded to Medina to meet King Ibn Saud. Late in the month the King and the British Consul at Jeddah met at Abyar ibn Hassani, to discuss various questions, including the management of the Hedjaz railway.

King-Sultan Ibn Saud visited Riyadh, the capital of Nejd, in December, after an absence of two years. He held a conference of tribal chiefs for the discussion

China

IN addition to the important step taken by the British Government in urging upon the other Washington Treaty Powers a new "constructive policy" in regard to China (dealt with elsewhere in this magazine), events in that country continue to provide vivid evidence of the turmoil through which the Chinese people are seeking to find their way toward national independence.

Chu Chao-hsin, the Chinese representative at the League of Nations, announced on Dec. 4 that China had decided to terminate all unequal treaties and would not accept the Belgian proposal to submit the

of various questions, chief among which was the status of certain branches of the Shammar tribe, which took refuge in Iraq in 1921.

The Government of the Hedjaz ordered the establishment of a system of religious schools with a university at Mecca, and primary and secondary schools there and in other cities, to the number of twenty-one in all. Forty teachers were summoned from Syria.

Persia

A COMMERCIAL treaty between Persia and Russia was in discussion during December, apparently without reaching a conclusion. The Persian Minister of War, known formerly as Zoka ul Mulk, but now as Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Farughi, conducted the negotiations on behalf of Persia.

The fifteenth quarterly report of Dr. Millspaugh, American Administrator General of the finances of Persia, dealt with the period from March 22 to June 22, 1926. Dr. Millspaugh was able to announce the conversion in three years of a heavy deficit into a small surplus, and the accumulation of cash in the treasury sufficient to repay the entire funded debt of Persia. It had been possible also to reduce both the funded and floating debts.

A. H. L.

The Far East

dispute over Chinese denunciation of the treaty of 1865 to the World Court because it is a political rather than a legal dispute. China will, he said, submit the matter to the League Assembly. In view of the disintegration of the Peking Government, Chu declared on Dec. 8 that he would take no active part in League activities pending developments.

Shia Ting, representing the Kuomingtang Government at Geneva, said his Government did not recognize the League and that after the civil war China would not consider herself a member "unless the Powers recognize her complete independence and sovereignty and receive her on an equal basis." He referred to the Pan-Asiatic

League and said that "the organization of an Oriental League is necessary for us to protect ourselves against Western Powers" and that negotiations were progressing between Russia, China, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. The new league, however, he explained, would not be directed against Geneva, but would merely safeguard special Asiatic interests. "We like the United States," he added, "and want to cooperate with America, but we regret the fact that Washington declined to denounce the treaties willingly in accordance with liberty, justice and equality."

It is said that one object in moving the capital from Canton was to reduce the influence of the Cantonese radicals. Mass meetings at Hankow, attended by the son and widow of Sun Yat-sen and by Borodin, the Russian adviser of the Cantonese, on Dec. 12 and 21, aroused enthusiasm and only slight criticism from the Moderates. Moscow, though recognizing that a Kuomintang Government would not be Bolshevik, is well pleased with the situation, especially with the growth of labor unions in the Yangtse cities.

It was reported on Dec. 23 that the Kuomintang Government had approached former members of the Lafayette Escadrille and the French flying service with a view to establishing a flying force of 150 planes at a cost of \$2,000,000. The suspected connection with Moscow has made the proposal distasteful to some of the aviators, but others seem eager to undertake the adventure.

Chiang Kai-shek, in an interview of Nov. 23, insisted that "the elimination of missions from China is not part of our program," but there had been reports of anti-missionary activity. A number of anti-Christian societies have been organized, and the Shanghai police took special precautions to prevent demonstrations on Christmas day. Foreigners have been advised to leave Kuling and many are evacuating Kiangsi Province. In the Wuhan cities there has been some invasion of churches and serious trouble occurred at the Wesleyan Hospital at Hankow, from which Dr. Pell recently resigned as a protest.

The Duke of Sermenta, the Italian Oriental scholar, on Dec. 27 approved the

suggestion of Lord Inchcape that the present Chinese turmoil was due in large measure to "the well meant activities of Christian missions." "Modern Christianity," said Sermenta, "has become so truly European, so non-Asiatic, that it is quite incomprehensible in its real essence and the high moral implications to all Asiatic and Far Eastern minds. Missionary work, in fact, he thinks, "destroys the spiritual atmosphere and religious belief which the Chinese have inherited through thousands of years." He considers it not unlikely that missions will be driven from China, and that this might be a good thing for all concerned.

Incidents still occasionally occur on the Yangtse. On Dec. 16 the American steamer Iling was boarded by soldiers, who left when the United States gunboat El Cano cleared for action. Szechuan soldiers compelled a Japanese steamer to take them from Shasi to Ichang. British and Japanese steamers have been fired on near Shasi. On Dec. 14 two Americans, G. L. Cousins and J. Gilliam of the British American Tobacco Company, were imprisoned by labor leaders in the offices of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in Hankow, until released by threats of a forcible rescue from the American community. On Dec. 22 Chinese soldiers entered the British concession, but later withdrew with apologies.

Hankow was the scene of considerable disorder on Jan. 3 when a mob of several thousand Chinese attempted to enter the British concession, but the few British policemen, reinforced by sailors and marines from British warships on the Yangtse, held back the mob until it was dispersed by Chinese soldiers. The following day Admiral Cameron, Consul General Goffe and the Chinese Chief of Police agreed that the naval detachment of the volunteers should be withdrawn and that the concession should be policed by Chinese-controlled uniformed officials. Immediately after the British forces were withdrawn, a mob swarmed into the concession, dismantled the sand-bag redoubts, stole the bags and chased foreigners, but without injuring them. The Chinese Chief of Police took responsibility for preserving order. On Jan. 5 women of British nation-

ality began leaving for Shanghai, while heavy street fighting took place between the Chinese police and the crowds of coolies who had entered the concession. The Union Jack was hauled down from the British Consulate and replaced there and over the British Police Station by the Cantonese flag. On Jan. 6 the British naval forces and marines again resumed control of the concession by arrangement with the Cantonese military authorities. The Chinese soldiers, with the exception of the military police, were withdrawn. The threatening situation at Kiu Kiang also led to the landing of bluejackets from warships in the river to protect the concession there against possible seizure.

The British forces in China have been augmented by the cruiser Enterprise, the fourth vessel added since September, and by the second battalion of the Suffolk Regiment, which was moved from Gibraltar on Dec. 17.

General Chang Tso-lin in a statement on Dec. 27 made clear that he differed in his attitude from that of the Southerners. "The immediate abolition of foreign treaties is impractical and unwise," he declared. "The treaties must be abolished step by step. The Washington conference laid the basis for such a program and we must return to such a basis and proceed therefrom." Chang entered Peking on Dec. 27 and is said to favor Chin Yun-peng, who was Prime Minister in 1919 and 1922 for that post, with Wellington Koo for Foreign Minister and Pan Fu for Minister of Finance.

In spite of the civil war the maritime customs revenue for 1926 amounted in round figures to 78,100,000 haikwan taels, an increase of 8,230,000 taels over 1925. The gold standard equivalent for 1926, however, was lower than that of the year before, owing to the difference in exchange—about \$60,700,000 as compared with \$60,900,000 in 1925. The revenue from the native customs for 1926 was 4,500,000 taels (about \$3,500,000), a decrease of 228,000 taels compared with 1925.

Japan

THE Emperor Yoshihito died of pneumonia on Dec. 25 and simultaneously Hirohito, the Prince Regent, ascended the throne as the 123d Emperor since the foundation of the dynasty by Jemmu Tenno in the Seventh century B. C. All the royal family were present except Prince Chichibu, who was traveling home from England.

Yoshihito was born on Aug. 31, 1879, and was the third son of the Emperor Mutsuhito and the Princess Yanigwara, one of the eight Princesses attached to the royal palace in addition to the Empress, who was childless. His health was always poor, but he outlived his brothers and succeeded to the throne on July 30, 1912, and was crowned on Nov. 10, 1915. He had a reputation in scholarship and poetry, liked Western customs and was the first Japanese Emperor to practice monogamy. Failing health, both physical and mental, required the establishment of a regency in November, 1921.

The new Emperor Hirohito, the first with a Western education, was born on April 29, 1901 and had been Regent since 1921. His imperial rescript read on Dec. 28 urged the whole Empire to unite efforts "in promoting the solidarity of the nation." The nation's settled policy, he said, was for progress and improvement, but this must be "attained by degrees" and so "sought in the mean." He urged "simplicity instead of vain display; originality instead of blind imitation; progress in view of this period of evolution and improvement to keep up with advancing civilization; national harmony in purpose and action; beneficence to all classes of people and friendship to all the nations of the earth."

The next budget totals 1,730,373,000 yen, the largest in Japan's history, showing an increase of 91,000,000 yen, over the current budget. The sum of 255,000,000 yen goes to the navy and 212,000,000 to the army—or 27 per cent of the total for military purposes. This may be compared to 50 per cent for military purposes in the years following the war. The original request of the Navy Department was reduced over 10 per cent.

Q. W.